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William Chillingworth

(In his own Phrase) Clerk of Oxford; and
conceit of his Fellow-Soldiers) the Queen's
Engineer, and Grand-Intelligencer;

SET FORTH

In a LETTER to his Eminent and Learned Friends;
A Relation of his Apprehension at *Arundel*; A
Discovery of his ERRORS in a brief *Catechism*;
And a short Oration at the burial of his heretical
Book,

By FRANCIS CHEYNELL, Late Fellow of
Merton-College.

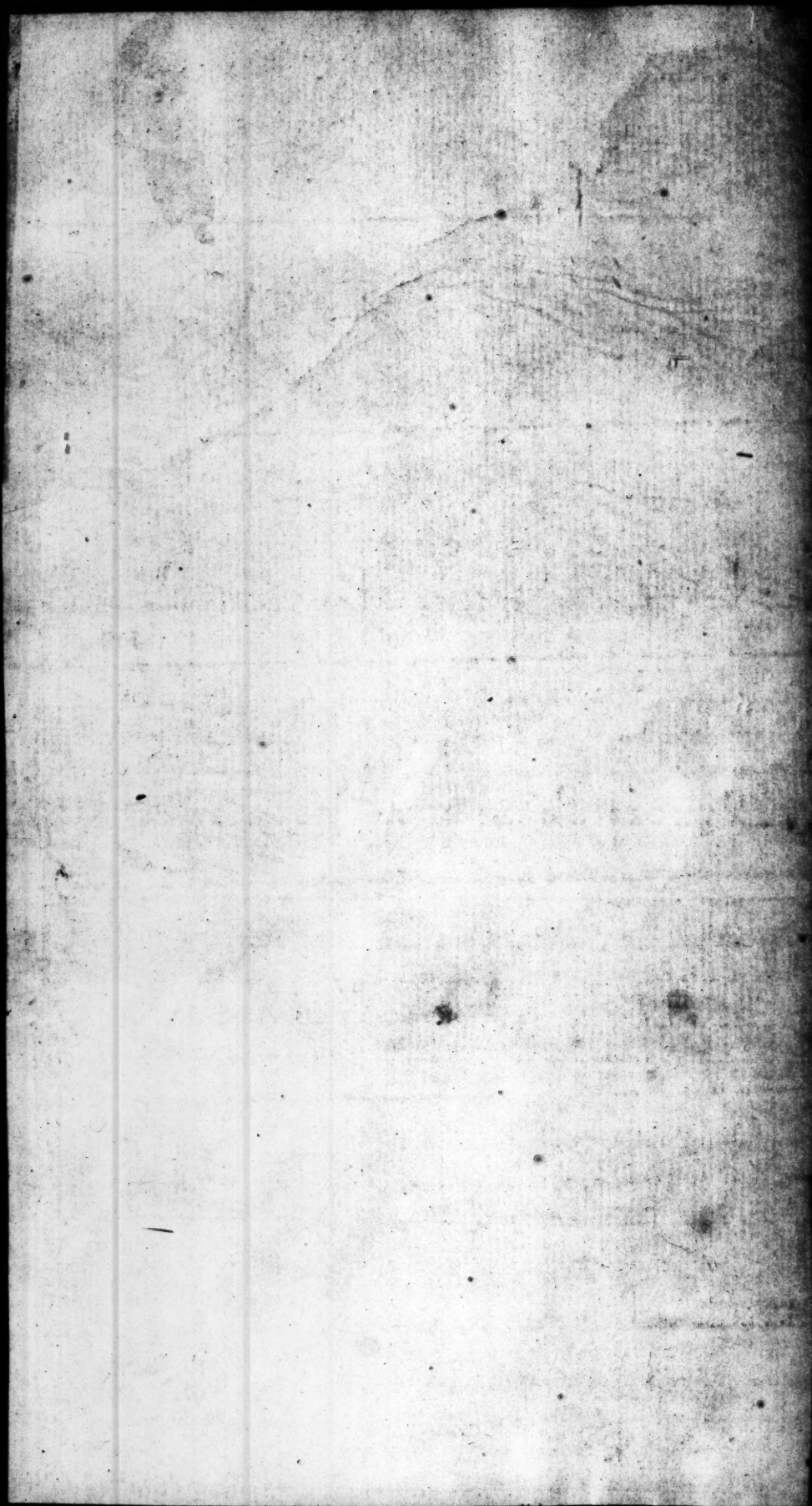
Publiſh'd by Authority, in the Year 1644;

Now re-publiſh'd, with an INTRODUCTION, ſpecify-
ing the criminal Effects of *BOGOTRY* in all Parties.

I acknowledge my Obligations to you for Chillingworthi Novissima,
one of the moſt villanous Books that ever was printed; it is a
Preſent I highly value. [Mr. LOCKE's Letter to ANTH.
COLLINS, Aug. 10. 1662. of Collect. of ſeveral Pieces.]

L O N D O N.

Printed by JOHN NOON, at the *White-Hart* near
Mercers-Chapel in *Cheapside*. MDCXLV.



INTRODUCTION

IS the peculiar happiness of this nation, that liberty of conscience is permitted, and the due freedom of inquiry encourag'd. To these we owe the distinct and clear reasoning which now flourishes amongst us : nor can any thing raise to a higher pitch a sense of our present felicity, or our industry to preserve it, than a review of the unhappy temper, and its dismal effects, that a contracted mind, bigotted to its first impressions, entails upon us : By this, the best temper is sour'd, the mildest disposition inflam'd, and the native bent of the mind so alter'd, that of beings made for society, we become wolves and tygers to one another.

What makes this subject still the more melancholy, is, that mankind have carried their hatred and malice in no other affair to that height as in matters of religion, in which we have nothing *judicially* to do with one another. That man, who believes me in a mistake, and will kindly tell me of it, acts a good part ; and whether I am convinc'd or not, nay tho I am in the right and he mistaken, yet I am oblig'd to him, and ought to esteem him accordingly :

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but he who pretends *authoritatively* to determine my belief, and to impose his religion upon me, denies me to be, what God has made me, a *reasonable being*; assumes the character of a legislator, erects himself into the seat of the one Supreme, is a bold impostor, and ought to be exposed as the worst of cheats, as introducing the greatest mischief among mankind.

This reflection is yet the more dreadful, in that almost all parties, as they have been possess'd of power, have arrogated this character to themselves; whereby they have spread blood and desolation among their fellow-creatures. Our fiery *Marian* days are sufficiently known in history; tho it must be acknowledg'd, that the chief of those who then fell, had too much dip't their own hands in blood, from the same principle, in the two preceding reigns *. The devastations made by his late most christian Majesty, are too notorious to be repeated; and it's too evident, that some of the *French* protestants, tho themselves under the rod of persecution, have endeavour'd to turn it on their own brethren†.

Spain alone, in the space of about 130 years, murder'd of *Moors*, *Jews* and *Americans*, under pretence of religion, near fifty millions of people. *Calvin* defil'd *Geneva* with murder‡: and the *Beza* was not actually concern'd in the putting

* *Burnet's Abridgment of the Reformation*, p. 339, 340. *Fox's Latin book of Martyrs*, p. 665.

† See *Rey's* account of the cruel persecutions rais'd by the *French Clergy*.

‡ See the account of the first voyages and discoveries of the *Spaniards* in *America*, and *Geddes's tracts*, Vol. III. of the expulsion of the *Moriscoes*.

§ See the history of *Servetus*,

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Servetus to death, yet, that he might insure as much of the guilt as possible, he not only defended the fact, but call'd it *justissimum supplicium*, a most righteous punishment *. *Zwinglius* is not content with pronouncing death for difference of opinion, but is very sarcastical in the performing it; and with wondrous wit passes sentence in these words, *Qui iterum mergit, mergatur*; i. e. He that re-baptizes with water, let him be drowned in the water; and accordingly the poor anabaptist was drown'd †. I am sensible, too many think, that venerable names should shelter bloody crimes; but it may be more justly affirm'd, that that man more effectually renounces christianity, who procures either the death or ruin of another for opinions not affecting civil government, than the man who offers incense to idols: and I have the apostle *Paul* to bear me out in it, who for a less crime than this, to wit, a man's neglect of his family, bespeaks him worse than an infidel ‡. But to proceed: The Calvinist synod at *Dort* seal'd their acts with the blood of the just *Oldenbarnevelt* §.

If we could hope for a better temper from any party, we should expect it from the *English* Dissenters, who speak of themselves as having always been under the lash, and suffering from those in power, for the exercise of private judgment, and worshipping God according to their consciences; by which, one would have thought, they should have learnt kinder sentiments towards those who differ'd from them: but even here we

* Beza, præfat. præfix. hæres. Val. Gen.

† Brandt's history of the Netherl. Reform. Vol. I. p. 57.

‡ 1 Tim. 5. 8.

§ Brandt, Vol. III. p. 341.

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find, their complaints were not that hereticks or schismatics suffer'd, but that themselves were the sufferers.

The *Presbyterians* were possess'd of their power but a very short time, yet in that space they were for carrying their ecclesiastical tyranny beyond what themselves charg'd on their former oppressors. To confirm this, I shall only give you two quotations out of their Assembly's Confession of Faith, which raises their power to a height which the church of *Rome* does not exceed; with an instance of cruel bigotry in an *Act of Convention*; which, had it took effect, would have been exceeded by nothing but the *Inquisition*. The quotations I have plac'd in the margin*; and the

* The Assembly's Confession of Faith, *Ch. 20. Art. 4.* declares, among other things, 'That whosoever, upon pretence of christian liberty, shall oppose the civil or the ecclesiastical power, and publish such opinions, or maintain such practices as are contrary to the light of nature or to the known principles of christianity, whether concerning faith, worship, or conversation, or the power of godliness; or such erroneous opinions or practices, as either in their own nature, or in the manner of publishing or maintaining them, are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ has establish'd in the church; they may lawfully be call'd to account, and proceeded against by the censures of the church, and by the power of the civil magistrate.'

Ch. 31. Art. 3. 'It belongeth to synods and councils, ministerially to determine controversys of faith and cases of conscience; to set down rules and directions for the better ordering of the publick worship of God, and government of his church; to receive complaints in cases of male-administration, and authoritatively to determine the same: which decrees and determinations, if consonant to the word of God, are to be receiv'd with reverence and submission; not only for their agreement with the word, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God appointed thereunto in his word.'

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As I shall set down at large at the end of this Introduction.

And even under the reign of the great and good King *William*, that friend to mankind, who hated persecution as much as the bigots of all parties love it, Dr. *Bates*, in his congratulatory address to him, Nov. 22. 1697. (which he presented in the name of the protestant dissenting ministers in and about *London*,) mov'd his Majesty to use his power to restrain the press, and prevent the contagion of *Socinian* doctrines *: A very different spirit from that of our dear Lord and Master, who has assur'd us, truth will bear the light; and thereby pointed out the only true method of dissipating error, to wit, by an open and free examination.

The *Independents* flying from the ecclesiastical severities of *Laud* and his party, rais'd a formidable power abroad, where, agreeably to the method of their adversaries, by fines, scourgings,

* Among other things, the Doctor says, 'Your Majesty is ordain'd for victories: There are more noble conquests to be obtain'd, over worse than foreign enemys: Profaneness in manners, and pernicious doctrines in religion, that fight against the soul; and notwithstanding our peace on earth, expose us to a fearful war with heaven. We live in an age of degenerate wickedness; wherein are numberless numbers of resolv'd looseness, who by their bold impiety defy the supreme Majesty of Heaven; these, we hope, by your authority and influence, may be restrain'd, if not truly re-form'd.' — And afterwards (lest he had not spoke plain enough before) he goes on; 'There are such doctrines frequently publish'd, as are infinitely injurious to the person and office of our blessed Saviour: We hope your pious zeal for his divine honour, will put a stop to the licentiousness of the press, that the contagion of the dead may not corrupt the living. This will be a most pleasing sacrifice of praise to the blessed God, &c.'

banish-

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banishment and death*, they establish *Independency*.

Nor will the ravages made upon our Dissenters in Charles the second's reign be forgot, while so many families continue still to feel their dismal effects in their fortunes.

The temper of the *Anabaptists* has not yet been publicly try'd for want of power, except at *Munster*; and how terribly they there us'd it, history fully informs us. But I can't help remarking, that the prosecution of the pious and judicious Mr. *Emlyn* at *Dublin*, was carry'd on by one of that party with the utmost violence †: and *Brand* informs us, that in the *Netherland* revolution, they drove away the monks, broke their pictures and images to pieces in their chapel, and trod the host under their feet ‡; and particularly one went about, exciting the people to knock down and kill the monks and fryars.

Hitherto we have view'd the dismal effects of party-zeal, venting its rage against the living; but the following treatise is a lively picture of bigotry, exerting its fury against the dead. Mr. *Cheynell*, as the bishop of *Salisbury* very kindly remarks **, was as good-natur'd a man as his bigotted principles would permit; yet here he represented himself, in defiance of all humanity, not content with denying Mr. *Chillingworth* his country's funeral-rites, not content with burying his unparallel'd book with the utmost familiarity, quitting his grave with contempt and

* *Neal's history of New-Engl.* p. 208 to 215, and 216.

† *Emlyn's Narrative*, p. 23.

‡ Vol. 1. p. 66.

** See bishop *Hoadley's* letter to Dr. *Snape*, p. 44.

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sult, and seeming by the next paragraph (for he mentions it as a proof of his own wonderful moderation) to have repented that he did not bestow a funeral discourse on him from the 22d of *Jeremiah*, *He shall be buried with the burial of an ass*; tho himself had occasion'd it: Not content, I say, with all this, he proceeds to determine his future state, and declares, in the beginning of his address to Mr. *Chillingworth's* friends, after he had call'd upon them to repent of being the licensers of his *subtle atheism*, *That he was so harden'd by their flattery, that (for ought the most charitable man can judge) he perish'd by their approbation.*

How surprizing must it be to a generous temper, to see the kindest man of that age (whose works are a standing defence of the liberty of mankind in judging for themselves in matters of religion, against even the violence which *Cheyne* complains of, as being himself involv'd in) thus treated by this very *Cheyne*, for that book which is now most justly esteem'd the glory of protestants! But this surprize will vanish, when we shall find, that something worse than censuring and judging was wove into Mr. *Cheyne's* religion; to wit, the putting men to death for their principles: for, speaking of *Valentine*, who was executed by the senate of *Bern* for his opinions, he says, *That * it was by divine providence, that a person who had been in a high nature abus'd by Valentine, (which high abuse, as appears by Cheyne himself, was only dedicating a book to him †) was governour of the place, tho out*

* Rise of Socinianism, p. 12. † P. 11.

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of his turn, when *Valentine* return'd to *Bern*, that he might have an opportunity to seize him : And then giving a farther account of his trial, he adds, *I must hasten to bring Valentine to his deserved punishment* *. And again, speaking of the burning of *Servetus*, he says, *The senate of Geneva were in good hope, by this exemplary punishment upon Servetus, to crush this cockatrice's egg, and kill the viper* †. O dismal effects of bigotry and blind zeal ! that can make so great a part of the human race calmly sit down, and glory in blood and ruin spread among their fellow-creatures, who never injur'd them, only because they cannot think as they do ! What is this, but telling their creator he knows not how to treat his creatures, and divesting him of his authority over the sons of men ? Yet none make greater outcries than these, when themselves are under the lash : which plainly evinces, that neither a good natural disposition, nor a heart softned by sufferings, nor yet the complaints of the persecuted are any proof, that they would not use power, if once lodg'd in their hands, as rigidly as the other side.

The re-publishing then of this book, is not to reflect on *men* but on *things* ; to shew the dismal effects of party-rage, and zeal, not under the guidance of reason : It is to warm our hearts to a love of liberty, and guard us against a narrow, contracted temper of mind. For nothing but the acquiring a habit of charity and benevolence, the making the same allowances for the imperfections of our fellow-creatures as we would desire from them, the not assuming a right

* Rise of Socinianism, p. 13.

† P. 6,

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of judging those who are not to be judg'd by but together with our selves, can prevent our uncharitable censuring of others, the erecting an inquisition against our fellow-creatures, the spreading desolation by sword and fire ; and make us chearfully promote impartial examination in a sincere love to truth.

OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS



For the purpose of this present Parliament assembled, that all such persons as shall from and after the date of this present ordinance, whether by preaching, teaching, printing or writing, sermon and pulpit, that there is no God, or that God is not present in all places, doth not know and understand all things, or that he is not eternal, that he is not perfectly holy, or that he is not eternal, or that the Father is not God, the Son is not God, or the Holy Ghost is not God, or that there are not one eternal God; or that shall in like manner maintain and publish, that Christ is not God, equal

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A N
ORDINANCE
OF THE
LORDS and COMMONS
Assembled in
PARLIAMENT,

For punishing of *Blasphemys and Heresys.*

Die Martis 2 Maii, 1648.

 OR the preventing of the growth and spreading of heresy and blasphemy, be it ordain'd by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, That all such persons as shall from and after the date of this present ordinance, willingly, by preaching, teaching, printing or writing, maintain and publish, that there is no God, or that God is not present in all places, doth not know and foreknow all things, or that he is not almighty, that he is not perfectly holy, or that he is not eternal, or that the Father is not God, the Son is not God, or the Holy Ghost is not God, or that they three are not one eternal God; or that shall in like manner maintain and publish, that Christ is not God,
equal

equal with the Father, or shall deny the manhood of Christ, or that the manhood or godhead of Christ are several natures, or that the humanity of Christ is pure and unspotted of all sin; or that shall maintain and publish, as aforesaid, that Christ did not die nor rise from the dead, nor is ascended into heaven bodily; or that shall deny his death is meritorious in the behalf of believers; or that shall maintain and publish, as aforesaid, that Jesus Christ is not the son of God; or that the Holy Scripture, viz. of the Old Testament, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, first of Samuel, second of Samuel, first of Kings, second of Kings, first of Chronicles, second of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, The Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: Of the New Testament, The gospel according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, The Acts of the Apostles, Paul's epistles to the Romans, Corinthians the first, Corinthians the second, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians the first, Thessalonians the second, to Timothy the first, to Timothy the second, to Titus, to Philemon, the epistle to the Hebrews, the epistle of James, the first and second epistles of Peter, the first, second and third epistles of John, the epistle of Jude, the Revelation of John; is not the word of God: or that the bodies of men, after they are dead, shall not rise again; or that there is no day of judgment after death: all such maintaining, and publishing of such error or errors, with obstinacy therein, shall by virtue hereof be adjudg'd FELONY. And all such persons, upon complaint and proof made of the same, in cases aforesaid, before any two of the next justices of the peace for

for that place or county, by the oaths of two witnesses, (which the said justices of the peace, in such cases, shall have power to administer) or confession of the party; the said party so accused, shall be by the said justices of peace committed to prison, without bail or mainprise, until the next goal-delivery to be holden for that place, or county; and the witnesses likewise shall be bound over by the said justices unto the said goal-delivery, to give in their evidence; and at the said goal-delivery, the party shall be indicted for felonious publishing and maintaining such error. And in case the indictment be found, and the party upon his trial shall not abjure his said error, and defence and maintenance of the same, he shall suffer the pains of death, as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy; but in case he shall recant, or renounce and abjure his said error or errors, and the maintenance and publishing of the same, he shall nevertheless remain in prison, until he finds two sureties, that shall be bound with him, before two or more justices of peace or goal-delivery, that he shall not thenceforth publish or maintain, as aforesaid, the said error or errors any more; and the said justices shall have power hereby to take bail in such cases. And be it further ordain'd, that in case any person formerly indicted for publishing and maintaining of such erroneous opinion or opinions as aforesaid, and renouncing and abjuring the same, shall nevertheless again publish and maintain his said former error or errors, as aforesaid, and the same proved as aforesaid; the said party so offending, shall be committed to prison as formerly, and at the next goal-delivery shall be indicted, as aforesaid; and in case the indictment be then found upon the trial, and it shall appear that formerly the party was convicted of the same error, and publishing and maintaining thereof, and renounc'd and abjur'd the same, the offender shall suffer death, as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy.

Be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That all and every person or persons, that shall publish or maintain as aforesaid, any of the several errors hereafter ensuing, viz. That all men shall be saved, or that man by nature hath free will to turn to God, or that God may be worshipped in or by pictures or images, or that the soul of any man, after death, goeth neither to heaven or hell, but to purgatory; or that the soul of man dieth or sleepeth when the body is dead; or that revelations, or the workings of the Spirit, are a rule of faith or christian life, though diverse from, or contrary to the written word of God; or that man is bound to believe no more than by his reason he can comprehend; or that the moral law of God, contain'd in the ten commandments, is no rule of christian life; or that a believer need not repent, or pray for pardon of sins; or that the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's supper, are not ordinances commanded by the word of God; or that the baptizing of Infants is unlawful, or such baptism is void, and that such persons ought to be baptiz'd again; and in pursuance thereof, shall baptize any person formerly baptized; or that the observation of the Lord's day, as it's enjoined by ordinances and laws of the realm, is not according, or is contrary to the word of God; or that it is not lawful to join in publick prayer, or family prayer, or to teach children to pray; or that the churches of England are no true churches, nor their ministers and ordinances true ministers and ordinances; or that the church government by presbytery, is antichristian or unlawful; or that magistracy, or the power of the civil magistrate, by law establish'd in England, is unlawful; or that all use of arms, though for the publick defence (and be the cause never so just) is unlawful; and in case the party accus'd of such publishing and maintaining of any of the said errors, shall be thereof convicted to have published and maintained the same, as aforesaid,

said, by the testimony of two or more witnesses upon oath; or confession of the said party before two of the next justices of peace for the said place or county, whereof one to be of the Quorum, (who are hereby required and authoriz'd to send for witnesses, and examine upon oath in such cases, in the presence of the party) the party so convicted, shall be order'd by the said justices to renounce his said errors, in the publick congregation of the same parish from whence the complaint doth come, or where the offence was committed; and in case he refuseth or neglecteth to perform the same on or upon the day, time, and place appointed by the said justices, then he shall be committed to prison by the said justices, until he shall find two sufficient sureties before two justices of peace for the said place or county, (whereof one shall be of the Quorum) that he shall not maintain or publish the said error or errors any more. Provided always, and be it ordain'd by the authority aforesaid, that no attainder by virtue hereof, shall extend either to the forfeiture of the estate, real or personal, of such person attainted, or corruption of such person's blood.

Ordered by the Lords assembled in Parliament, that this Ordinance be forthwith printed and published.

JOH. BROWN, Cler' Parliamentor

N. B. This Ordinance was printed at London, for John Wright, at the King's Head in the Old Bailey, 1648.

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TO THE
LEARNED and EMINENT
FRIENDS
OF
Mr. CHILLINGWORTH.

And in particular to

Sir JOHN CULPEPPER, Knight,
JOHN PRIDEAUX, Bp. of Worcester,
FELL, Dean of Christ-Church,
Dr. BAYLY, Dean of Sarum,
SHELDON, Warden of All-Souls,
POTTER, Provost of Queen's, and
MORLEY, Canon of Christ-Church.

SIRS,

OUR deceas'd friend is not yet speech-
less; he calls upon you to beware and
repent: Some preach more, at least
more practically when they are dead,
than ever they did whilst they were
alive. You that were his patrons and encouragers,
as he acknowledg'd ever, when he was in the
height of his rebellion, do you beware lest a worse
thing

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thing come unto you. You that were the *licensers* of his subtil atheism, repent, repent; for he was so harden'd by your flattery, that (for ought the most charitable man can judge) he perish'd by your approbation. He ever appeal'd to his works even to his very dying day; and what was it which made him dote upon them, but your licence and approbation? Hark what he saith; *The third and last part of my accusation was, That I answer out of principles, which protestants themselves will profess to detest: which indeed were to the purpose, if it could be justify'd. But besides that it is confuted by my whole book, and made ridiculous by the Approbation premis'd unto it, &c.* read Mr. *Chillingworth's* preface to the *Author of Charity, &c.* Sect. 30. Sure I am, that the accusation may be justify'd, and therefore is to the purpose; but the approbation cannot be justify'd, and is therefore justly reprobated. The accusation is so serious, that the approbation cannot make it (but may well make the approvers and their church) ridiculous. O what a ridiculous church do the licensers make the church of *England* to be, by saying, that there is nothing in Mr. *Chillingworth's* book contrary to the doctrine of the church of *England*? sure they meant the church of *Canterbury*. But Dr. *Fell*, and Dr. *Bayly* are not asham'd to say, That there is nothing in that book contrary to good manners; which Dr. *Prideaux* would not say: But enough of that.

SIRS, The following history will testify my compassion towards your deceas'd friend, whom I ever oppos'd in a charitable and friendly way. I do not account it any glory, to trample upon the carcass of *Hector*, or to pluck a dead lion by the beard: Should I mis-quote his book, and make that error mine own by a false citation, which

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which I pretend to be his in an accusation ; you that were the unhappy licensers of his book, would soon take me tripping. If you conceive that he deserved a more honourable burial, be pleased to answer my reasons, and patronize his errors with all the learning *Bodley's library can afford* : or else study *his Catechism*. Pardon my boldness ; some Courtiers never learnt, and some Doctors have forget their catechism ; or else this man we speak of had never been so much admired, his book extoll'd, or these antichristian wars fomented, by such great clerks and busy wits.

I looked upon Mr. *Chillingworth*, as one who had his head as full of *scruples* as it was of *engines* ; and therefore dealt as tenderly with him, as I use to do with men of the most nice and tender consciences : for I consider'd, that tho beef must be preserv'd with salt, yet plumbs must be preserv'd with sugar. I can assure you, I stoop'd as low to him as I cou'd without falling : and you know he is not a wise man, in the judgment of the philosopher, who stoops so low to another man's weakness, that he himself falls into weakness : and it is a rule with us at *Westminster*, that *he falls into weakness who falls into sin*.

Do not conceive that I snatch'd up my pen in an angry mood, that I might vent my dangerous wit, and ease my overburden'd spleen : No, no, I have almost forgot *the visitation at Merton-College, the denial of my grace, the plundering of my house and little library* : I know when and where, and of whom to demand satisfaction for all these injuries and indignities. I have learnt *centum plagas Spartanâ nobilitate conquere*. I have not yet learnt how to plunder others of goods or living, and make my self amends by

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force of arms. I will not take a living which belonged to any civil, studious, learned delinquent; unless it be the much neglected *commendam* of some lordly prelate, condemn'd by the known laws of the land, and the highest court of the kingdom, for some offence of the first magnitude: I can, without straining my conscience, swallow such a gnat, a camel I should say; for every one of their *commendams* hath a bunch upon its back, and may well make a bunch upon their conscience. I shall not trouble you with any long discourse about state matters, only you will give me leave to say what the *Lacedemonian* slave said, when he stood to be sold in the market; and one asked him what he was; I am, said he, a *free-man*: and so am I; for tho I have not taken *antidotum contra Casarem*, yet I have taken *antidotum contra tyrannidem*. I could never yet stoop so low to the most tyrannical prelate, as to cry, *Your humble slave*.

SIRS, We hear you have made a new *Almanack* at Oxford; and some conceive, that you hold correspondence with all the *four planets*; and that you have entic'd the trusty *Sun* from his ecliptick line, and taught him to go retrograde. We wonder, I must tell you, that the *Sun* never came into *Libra*; that opinions, protestations, actions, were seldom or never weighed in the balance of the sanctuary: and we wonder more, that *Venus* (I had almost forgot my astronomy, and said *Juno*) was shuffled into *Virgo's* place; and the sign was in the *Dog's-head*, when we did expect it in a more propitious place, the *Lion's-heart*. I remember that of *Tertullian*, *habet ecclesia dies caniculares*; the church of Christ hath cause to complain of *dog-days*: for the dog doth not only shew his teeth; we hear him bark, and

of Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. 31

and feel him bite. We may in every month write the dog-days in capital letters; nay you write them for us (so capital are your crimes) in letters of blood. What, is *England* become a wilderness? if it be not, why are so many wild beasts suffer'd to go loose, and prey upon the zealous protestants? for shame, chain up those beasts before the first of *March*; if shame work not, fear may; the same fear which falls upon the men of *Northumberland*, the fear of a *Scottish* reformation. I will not listen at the door of your *Junto*, to hear what news; nor will I peep into your *pretended Parliament*; no, nor into *Merton-College*, for fear I should see some sights like those in the eighth of *Ezekiel*; some with their backs towards the temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east: and if I should look farther, one that is no prophet tells me, that I may see greater abominations than these. Sir, I beseech you keep down your staff: but if you will hold it up, as *Eurybiades* did, I must cry as *Themistocles* did, *πάταλον μὴ ἀναγορεύετε*, Strike if you please; yet hear me: or at least hear what the prophet saith to me, doth he not speak of you? Then he said unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? Is it a light thing to the house of Judah, that they commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the land with violence, and have returned to provoke me to anger: and so they put their branch to their nose. Therefore—read and tremble at the rest. Come, come, away with this learned atheism; your judge looks upon you, the searcher of hearts and discoverer of secrets is acquainted with all your plots. The Lord sees what the ancients of *Oxford* do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery: the Lord hears what you say—O do not say as the ancients of *Israel* said,

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said, *The Lord seeth us not, the Lord hath forsaken the earth.* I am afraid that you have the same temptations at Oxford, which were presented to *Origen, an Ethiopian woman, and an idol*; he was, you know, put to this unhappy choice, to commit folly with which he pleased. Some lust as much after idols, as others do after women: if in these days of liberty you restrain from neither, you do in effect tempt to both, and are the grand seducers of the hopeful gentry: But, alas, you are guilty of a more ambitious wickedness; it is your study to seduce a King.

I remember an old story of King *Canutus*, who (as the chronicler relates) took off the crown from his own head, and set it upon the crucifix at *Westminster*: But tell me (you that have read some *Italian Jesuit*, more subtil than the politician's saint, *St. Macchiavel*) do you conceive that you can persuade our King to take off his crown from his own head, and place it upon your idol, the *Queen*; or her idol, the *crucifix at Oxford*? We have none at *Westminster*. Well, plot on, my masters, and walk in the light and warmth of that fire which you have kindled; but hear what the prophet saith, *Behold all you that kindle a fire, and compass about your selves with sparks, walk in the light of your fire, and in the sparks which you have kindled: This shall ye have of mine hand, ye shall lay down in sorrow.* Pardon our just fear, if we dare not say a confederacy to all those *Welsh atheists, Irish rebels, bloody papists of the French or Spanish faction*, to whom you say, *A confederacy: Associate your selves together, (you know what follows); take counsel together, (in your pretended parliament) and it will be brought to nought; enact and pronounce a decree, imagine mischief as a law, yet you shall not prosper,*
for

of Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. 23

for God is with us. I know you urge the thirteenth of the epistle to the *Romans* to justify your royal cruelty; but you know what *Chrysostom* and many others have said upon that place: But I shall only ask you one question, (with which I stopp'd your friend *Chillingworth's* mouth) be pleased to answer it: Do you believe that tyranny is God's ordinance? I ever held it a violation of God's ordinance: And whether the supreme judicatory of the kingdom may not repel that force with force, which would violate God's ordinance, judge ye: for it is absurd to talk, as *Dr. Ferne* doth, of a moral restraint in such a case. Sure I am, the parliament hath power to raise an army, to preserve God's ordinance inviolable, when it cannot be preserv'd by any other means. They do certainly resist God's ordinance who seek to violate it: you endeavour to violate it, we to preserve it; who is in the fault?

I have examin'd your great champion *Dr. Ferne's* three books, and cannot find any thing in them, whereby the conscience of an impartial scholar may be fully resolved or satisfy'd. It is very impertinent, in my weak judgment, to talk of the privileges of the Kings of *Judah*, who were immediately elected by God; or to discourse of the power of the *Roman* Emperor, or the first draughts of government in the *Saxon* and *Norman* lines: for *Dr. Ferne* doth acknowledge, That it is not injurious to his Majesty's posterity, that the King swears to a limited power; a power limited by privileges and immunities, granted, or restored to the people since the conquest: which privileges, grants, and liberties, tho not original, yet are they irrevocable. *Dr. Ferne* distinguishes between the title of the King, and the power of the King; but we did never so much as once question

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tion his Majesty's title, whether it be limited or no. It is confess'd that his power, and therefore much more the exercise of his power, is limited by the privileges of the parliament, the immunities of the subject, and the King's own oath: nay, it is acknowledg'd, that the two houses of parliament are in a sort co-ordinate with his Majesty, to some act or exercising of the supreme power, by a fundamental constitution. Truly here is, in my judgment, so much granted, that the rest need not be disputed. But what if these powers be divided, and clash one against the other? why then the power is not fully in King or Parliament; for the power, which is in the three estates, is suspended whilst one part suspends: so Dr. Ferne. Give me leave to ask him, and you, whether the power of the *Militia* be not in the three estates, as well as the power of making laws? if it be not, then sure the power of making laws is to no purpose, because they have no power to defend or enforce law. And if the power of the *Militia* be in the three estates, then the King's power of levying, arming men, &c. is suspended by the several ordinances of parliament: for it is Dr. Ferne's conclusion, that the power which is in the three estates is suspended, whilst one part suspends; *Ergo*, much more if two estates suspend.

But on the other side, I desire Dr. Ferne to shew how the kingdom is secured by the government of three estates, if the two houses of parliament have not sufficient power to preserve the King and the Kingdom, in case the King refuse to preserve it or himself. It is unreasonable, saith Dr. Ferne, that the supply should be made by the body only, without the head: nay, rather, Doctor, it is unreasonable for the head to neglect the preservation

vation of it self and the body : but it is very reasonable for to lift up both arms, to defend the head and the whole body ; and therefore reasonable for both houses to take up arms, and lift up their arms, put forth their whole strength to defend the King and themselves. Dr. Ferne talks of a fundamental constitution, which hath provided this *temper of three estates, as the reasonable means of our safety*. But I must confess, that it cannot enter into my dull pate, to conceive that our government is of any settled temper ; or that we have any reasonable means provided for the safety of this kingdom by that fundamental constitution, if the King may do what he pleases, seize on our goods, ('tis Dr. Ferne's supposition) imprison our persons, kill us outright, and which is worse, overthrow our laws, our liberties, our religion, and all at once ; and by consequence enslave, not only the bodys, but the consciences of our posterity : and there is no more power in both houses of parliament to protect us by force against force, than if we had no such remedy provided, as the government of three estates. Are we not subjected to an absolute Monarch, if the other two estates have no legal power to relieve our neglected or oppress'd commonwealth ? how are we *secured* by the temper of three estates ? or how can it be called a *temper*, or a *temper of three estates*, if the first of the three may oppress us, and the other two have no power to relieve us ? sure I am, that by this account there is but one estate that hath a true power, and therefore that estate must be an estate of absolute monarchy, which Dr. Ferne himself seems to abhor : and yet so vain is that Doctor, as to call the power of supply, legally placed in both houses of parliament, a conceit ;

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may, a vain conceit: his words are these; *The conceit of supply by the two houses, in case the King refuse (to preserve the kingdom), is a vain conceit.* And if that be true, then I must conclude, that this provision of a temper of three estates, is no temper, no provision; two of the estates are no estates: or else this provision is, in the phrase of *Dr. Ferne*, a lame provision, which argues the first contrivement of our ancestors very inconsiderate; because then it follows, that there is no reasonable mean of safety provided for this kingdom, by that fundamental constitution, which provided this temper of three estates; so the Doctor loves to call it, tho he make one estate so predominant, that as there is no *temperamentum ad pondus*, so there will be no *temperamentum ad justitiam* neither, by his conceit. How say you, *Sir John*, are not you of my perswasion; or are you asham'd to tread in the steps of your *learned country-man*? The Lord open your eyes, and clear your eyesight; you are naturally sharp-sighted, but if your eye look red or yellow, you know your disease by the symptom. It shall be my prayer, that your eye may neither be dim nor blood-shotten.

Consider that the blood of the seventy was laid upon *Abimelech* their brother, who slew them; and upon the men of *Shechem*, who had aided him, by strengthening his hands to kill his brethren. Whether you have strengthened their hands who slew their brethren, only for being too zealous in the maintenance of that religion which you profess; I appeal to God, your conscience, and the evidence of the fact. If you have dealt truly and sincerely with this reforming parliament, nay with your own party, rejoice, and flatter your selves with hope of a desired success: but if not, then take heed the curse of *Jorham* does

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does not fall upon you. There may be an evil spirit sent between the *Irish* and the *English*, the *French* and *Spanish* factions; nay, fire may come out from the *Queen*, and consume the *prelates*; and fire from the *prelates*, and consume the *papists*: or else there may come a fire from the *North*, a fire to purge and refine, not to destroy; which is my prayer, and will be your happiness.

I will not hold you any longer upon the rack: Learn the first lesson of christianity, *self-denial*; deny your own will, and submit your selves to God's; deny your reason, and submit to faith: Reason tells you, that there are some things above reason; and you cannot be so unreasonable as to make reason judge of those things which are above reason: remember that Mr. Chillingworth (your friend) did run mad with reason, and so lost his reason and religion both at once. He thought he might trust his reason in the highest points; his reason was to be judge, whether or no there be a God; whether that God wrote any book; whether the books usually receiv'd as canonical be the books, the scriptures of God: what is the sense of those books; what religion is best; what church purest. Come, do not wrangle, but believe and obey your God; and then I shall be encourag'd to subscribe my self

Your Friend and Servant.

Francis Cheynell.

A Brief and Plain

RELATION

OF

Mr. Chillingworth's

Sickness, Death and Burial.

TOGETHER.

With a just Censure of his Works, by a
Discovery of his Errors collected out of
his Book, and framed into a kind of Atheis-
tical CATECHISM, fit for *Racovia* or
Cracovia: And may well serve for the
Instruction of the *Irish, Welsh, Dutch,*
French, Spanish Army in England; and
especially for the *Black Regiment at*
Oxford.



Am very religious in observing that
old proverb, if it be taken in its right
sense, *Nothing is to be spoken of the dead*
but good. If that be true which *Quin-*
tilian saith, *adversus miseros* (I may better say,
adversus mortuos) *inhumanus est jocus*; 'That man
is void of humanity who makes sport with the
dead.'

Mr. G—'s Sickness, Death, &c. 29

dead: Mr. *Chillingworth* was look'd upon by me, at the first sight, as a conquer'd man; and therefore I was not only *civil*, but (as he confessed) *charitable* unto him: and now he is dead, I cannot deal with him as *Afinius Pollio* did with *Plautus*, set forth an oration, to which no answer is to be expected, unless according to the desire of *Saul* or *Dives*, a messenger should arise from the dead to give me an answer, as full of terror as satisfaction. It is no glory to triumph over one that is conquer'd, nay dead; for that of the Poet is true,

Nullum cum victis certamen & athere cassis.

But I consider, that Mr. *Chillingworth's* party is alive, tho he be dead; and tho one of his books is buried, there are many hundred copies divulged: and therefore, tho I speak not of his human frailties, and personal infirmities and imperfections, which died with him; yet I may speak of his heretical book, and of some destructive policies he us'd, which do yet survive in their sad and lamentable effects. Judge what I say, put the case, a man commits notorious crimes scandalously, because publicly, and doth not only hold, but vent damnable heresies; and vent them not only in the pulpit, but in the press: shall not his damnable heresies and printed heresies be confuted after his death? shall thousands be seduced and perish, and all orthodox Divines silenc'd with that one proverb, *Nothing is to be spoken of the dead but good*? Nay, put the case further yet; suppose a man hath had his head full of powder-plots, and his heart full of bloody desires; nay, hath been a ring-leader and encourager of others to bloody practices against the very light of nature

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ture as well as scripture; must nothing be said of such a man when he is gone, but good?

Mr. Chillingworth and I met in *Suffex*, by an unexpected providence: I was driven from mine own house by force of arms, only (as the *Cavaliers* confess'd) because I was nominated to be a member of the Assembly. And when I heard that my living was bestow'd upon a Doctor, (who, if some *Cambridge-men* deceive me not, became the stage far better than he doth the pulpit); I resolv'd to exercise my ministry in *Suffex*, amongst my friends, in a place where there hath been little of the power of religion either known or practis'd. About the latter end of *November*, I travell'd from *London* to *Chichester*, according to my usual custom, to observe the monthly fast; and in my passage, (with a thankful heart I shall ever acknowledge it) I was guarded by a convoy of sixteen soldiers, who faced about 200 of the enemies forces, and put them all to flight. Upon the twelfth of *December*, I visited a brave soldier of my acquaintance, Captain *James Temple*, who did that day defend the fort at *Bramber*, against a bold daring enemy, to the wonder of all the country: and I did not marvel at it, for he is a man that hath his head full of stratagems, his heart full of piety and valour, and his hand as full of success as it is of dexterity: My grateful pen might well run on in his commendation, to the eternal shame of those who have been ungrateful to him, to whom they do (under God) owe their preservation. But I intend not to defraud others of their deserved praise, who were present at that fierce encounter. There was present Colonel *Herbert Morley*, a gentleman of a nimble apprehension and vigilant spirit; but the *Cavaliers* were kept at such a distance, that they never put
the

Sickness, Death and Burial. 31

the Colonel's regiment of horse to any trouble. There was present likewise Captain *Henry Carleton*, the anti-prelatical son of a learned prelate; a man of bold presence and fixed resolution, who loves his country better than his life. Captain *Simon Everden* was there also, a man of slow speech, but sure performance; who deserves that motto of the old *Roman*, *Non tam facile loquor, quam quod locutus sum præsto*. You cannot expect that I should name all the rest of the commanders: But there were, you see, some difficulties in my way, which seem'd insuperable, and yet the Lord of Hosts did bring me thorow these difficulties safe from *Bramber* to *Arundel*, upon the twenty first day of *December*, if I forget not. Mr. *Chillingworth* was at that time in *Arundel* castle, which was surrender'd to the much renown'd commander Sir WILLIAM WALLER, *Serjeant-Major-General of all the associated counties in the east and west*, upon the sixth of *January*. As soon as the castle was surrender'd, I represented Mr. *Chillingworth's* condition to Sir *William Waller*, who commended him to the care of his worthy Chaplain; and his Chaplain shew'd so much charity and respect towards him, that he laid him upon his own bed, and supply'd him with all necessities which the place did afford. When the rest of the prisoners were sent up to *London*, Mr. *Chillingworth* made it evident to me, that he was not able to endure so long a journey; and if he had been put to it, he had certainly dy'd by the way: I desir'd therefore that his journey might be shortned; and upon my humble motion he was sent to *Chichester*, where I intreated the Governor, that he might be secur'd by some officer of his acquaintance, and not put into the hands of the Marshal: the Governor gave order that Lieutenant

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tenant Golledge should take charge of him, and plac'd him in the Bishop of *Chichester's* palace, where he had very courteous usage, and all accommodations which were requisite for a sick man; as appears by the testimony of his own man at *Oxford*, and a letter of thankful acknowledgment from Mr. *Chillingworth's* father to Lieutenant Golledge: nay, by Mr. *Chillingworth's* codicil, which he desir'd should be annex'd to his will; in which he gave ten pound to Captain *King*, ten pound to Mrs. *Mason*, who keeps the Bishop's house, and attended Mr. *Chillingworth* in his sickness; and ten pound to Lieutenant Golledge: And it may further appear by a letter of Captain *King's* sent to *Oxford*, and the testimony of Mr. *Edmonds*, his apothecary; both which are as follows.

Captain *King's* Letter sent to Mr. *Walter Jones*, one of the Chaplains of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, Jan. 23.

KIND FRIEND,

MR. Chillingworth was in so weak a condition, by reason of a violent flux, that I persuade my self he could not have liv'd the first night of his journey, had he gone farther; for it was very tedious to him to be brought hither. He lies very ill, and (for ought I can perceive) in a desperate condition; and how God may dispose of him we know not: If any of his friends have a purpose to come into these parts, they shall have free passage without any molestation. Lieutenant Golledge performs the part of a real friend in every kind; neither is Christobell wanting in her best care and diligence. Lieutenant Golledge hath already disburs'd ten pounds, or thereabout: It would
not

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not be amiss that some of Mr. Chillingworth's friends were present with him, whilst there is some hope of life; for it will be a great satisfaction both to him and others: There must be no delays either of time or money.

I hear that Mr. Chillingworth's sister, whom he hath made Executrix, is travailing with child, and therefore unfit for travel; but he is very confident she will not let him want for necessary supplies whilst he lives, and that he may have decent burial (befitting one of his merit) if it pleaseth God he chance to die. Among other of his friends, I pray acquaint Dr. Sheldon, the Warden of All-souls, with what is written, whom Mr. Chillingworth doth very highly esteem.

From Chichester;
Jan. 23.

Your very affectionate friend;

ROBERT KING.

The Testimony of Mr. Edmonds.

A Friend standing by him, desir'd him to declare himself in point of religion, for two reasons: first; Because the Jesuits had much defam'd and traduc'd him in that particular: secondly, Because he might be able to give an account to his friends, in case he should survive. He answer'd, he had declar'd himself already in that point sufficiently to the world. His friend told him, that there went abroad some hard opinions that he had of Jesus Christ, and wish'd him to deal candidly and plainly to the world in that point. He answer'd, for those things he was settled and resolv'd, and therefore did not desire to be further troubled. Being demanded, what course should be taken for his interment, in case God should take him away in this place; he reply'd, that wherever God should please to take him, E he

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he would there be interr'd; and (if it might be obtain'd) according to the custom of the church of England; if not, the Lord's will be done. And further, said he, because the world will be apt to surmise the worst of things, and there may be some inquiry made after my usage in this place, I must testify and declare to all the world, that I have receiv'd both of Mr. Gollidge and his wife, abundance of love, care, and tenderneſs, where I deſerv'd it not; and that I have wanted nothing which might be deſir'd of them: and I muſt in all conſcience and honeſty do them this right, to teſtify the truth to the world: Or to that effect.

ANTHONY EDMONDS.

And for my part, I believe that in the courſe of nature he might have recover'd, had he not neglected and diſtruſted an able Doctor (who freely offer'd himſelf) only becauſe he was phyſician to Sir William Waller; ſure I am, that jealouſy was more deadly than his diſeaſe. Yet Mr. Chillingworth did, when it was too late, diſcover and confeſs his error; and we perſuaded the Doctor to viſit him afterwards, and he was in an hopeful way of recovery: but then his ſpirit was much dejected, becauſe his friends neglected or delay'd to ſend him ſome good news from Oxford; his heart was ſo ſet upon his releaſe, and his head was ſtill working and projecting, how he might be exchang'd or ranſom'd: and therefore, certainly the news of his friends active endeavours for his releaſe, was the *only cordial* which could poſſibly revive his ſpirits; and for want of ſuch a cordial, his heart was even dead within him before he dy'd. I intreated him to pluck up his ſpirits, and not to yield to his diſeaſe; but I perceiv'd, that tho' reaſon be *ſtout* when it encounters with faith, yet reaſon is not *ſo valiant* when
it

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it is to encounter with affliction : and I cannot but observe, that many a parliament-soldier hath been more chearful in a prison, than this discourfing engineer, and learned captive was in a palace. Believe it, reader, believe it, that neither gifts, nor parts, nor profession, nor any thing else but faith, will sustain the spirit of a man in spiritual streights and worldly incumbrances, when without there are fightings, and within there are fears.

Another reason there was, which (as I conceive) was very destructive to this man of reason : he was disrelisht, and (I believe) abus'd by most of the great officers who were taken prisoners in *Arundel* castle ; they look'd upon him as an intruder into their councils of war, and (as one of them whisper'd) the *Queen's Inteligencer*, who was set as a spy over them and all their proceedings. When Major *Molins* came to treat, he spake very coldly for Mr. *Chillingworth* ; and a greater commander than he told me, ' That they were bound ' to curse that little priest to the pit of hell, for ' he had been the ruin of them all.' I reply'd in his behalf, That I wonder'd much that they should make so weak an apology, for I could not believe, that Mr. *Chillingworth's* single vote could turn their council of war round, and make them giddy. The ingenious gentleman made use of the liberty of his judgment, and reply'd ; ' Sir, ' Mr. *Chillingworth* hath so much credit at the ' court, and the court-council hath so much influence into our military council, that we were ' even over-aw'd, and durst not contradict Mr. ' *Chillingworth*, for fear lest our own resolutions ' might succeed ill, and then his counsel would ' have been esteem'd the better.' I told the gentleman, that I thought Mr. *Chillingworth* wanted experience for the ordering of military affairs, and therefore could not well apply the general

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rules of reason aright, and bring them down to practice in cases which were difficult, because unusual. The gentleman reply'd, ' Sir, Mr. *Chillingworth* is so confident of his great wit and parts, that he conceives himself able to manage martial affairs, in which he hath no experience, by the strength of his own wit and reason.' Sir, quoth I, you may forgive him, for tho I hope to be *saved by faith*, yet Mr. *Chillingworth* hopes that a man may be *saved by reason*; and therefore you may well give him leave to fight by reason. ' Sir, (saith that witty gentleman) I confess it is a sad objection, which I know not how to answer;' and so instead of an answer we went to dinner. But I did examine the business impartially afterwards, and perceive that these great commanders have grossly abus'd Mr. *Chillingworth*, in laying all the blame upon him, as if he were guilty of losing the out-works, the town, the castle, and all; and therefore I shall do Mr. *Chillingworth* so much right, as to offer some considerations, which may tend to his excuse or vindication. For what tho Mr. *Chillingworth* were the grand Engineer at *Glocester* and *Arundel*, and both projects fail'd, the fault might be in the officers and soldiers and not in the Engineer: Put the case the Lord *Hopton*, Baron of *Stratton*, Field-Marshal General of the West, promise to bring three thousand men, and the Engineer make a line of communication which cannot be defended with fewer than two thousand; but the Field-Marshal doth in the mean time forget himself, and quarter his men in three or four maniples; but his enemy being a more wary and prudent commander, keeps his men in a contracted and compact body, which is too strong for the best of his maniples, and falls upon one of the Field-Marshal's quarters, takes and kills near-upon a thou-

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thousand men ; and the Field-Marshal, by such an unexpected blow, is utterly disabled for the fulfilling his promise of sending three thousand ; nay, is not able to send above 1500 men : Shall the Engineer or the Field-Marshal be blam'd in such a case ?

Nay, what if the enemy advance before the Engineer hath quite finish'd his works ? yet, if he hath made them defensible against any sudden onset, and the soldiers, which should defend the works, quit their trenches, and run all away, before any one man be slain in the trenches ; shall the Engineer be blam'd in such a case, or the soldiers, who were stricken with fear, when there was no considerable cause of fear ?

Finally, if the Lord of hosts, who did strike a terror to the very heart of the soldiers, do shew himself a God of wisdom, and infatuate the counsels of the grand *Achitophels* ; nay, shew himself a sin-revenging God, and smite the soldiers in the castle with deadly diseases, with one pox more than they carry'd in with them, with the flux, the calenture, the spotted-fever, and the like : if in the midst of these distresses, the soldiers break forth into a *mutinous flame*, and set all their fellows in a combustion ; must the Engineer be blam'd, if the castle be surrender'd in such a case ? Now I appeal to their council of war, whether their case were not so like to these cases which have been put, that it is hard to say wherein they differ'd. Let not then Mr. *Chillingworth* be charg'd with more faults than he was guilty of : I cannot but vindicate his reputation from all false aspersions, which are cast upon him by some who know not how to excuse themselves : I took all the care I could of his body whilst he was sick ; and will (as far as he was innocent) take care of his fame and reputation now he is dead ; nay, whilst he

was

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was alive, I took care of something more precious than his health or reputation, to wit, his precious and beloved soul; for in compassion to his soul I dealt freely and plainly with him, and told him, that he had been very active in fomenting these bloody wars against the parliament and commonwealth of *England*, his natural country; and by consequent, against the very light of nature: *I acknowledge, saith he, that I have been active in these wars, but I have ever follow'd the dictates of my conscience; and if you convince me that I am in an error, you shall not find me obstinate.* I told him, I conceiv'd that he might want sleep, being at that time newly come out of the castle, and therefore I gave him time to refresh himself; and when I came to him again, I ask'd him whether he was fit for discourse; he told me, Yes, but somewhat faintly: I certify'd him, that I did not desire to take him at the lowest, when his spirits were flatted and his reason disturb'd, but had much rather undertake him when he was at the highest; because I came prepar'd to receive satisfaction, and look'd upon my self as unlikely to give satisfaction to one, whom I acknowledg'd so much above me, in regard of his parts, gifts, experience; he having studied books and men, and more accurately discuss'd that question of state than ever I had done. He then told me, that he was pretty well refresh'd, and as able as he us'd to be in these times of distraction, for any discourse about that great controversy of state. He desir'd me to begin: I satisfy'd his desire, and told him, that it would be very requisite in the first place to state the question aright; for, as I conceived, many ingenious men were grossly mistaken, even in the very state of the question.

First then, be pleased (quoth I) to consider, that the original difference was not between the King
and

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and the Parliament, but between the Parliament and Delinquents; and indeed, between the Queen and the Parliament: I told him, that he could not be ignorant, that upon the fourth of January, two years ago, the King went unto the Parliament upon the Queen's errand; and I believ'd that he knew better than I, how much the Queen was discontented, because her bloody design was not put in execution. He told me, that he could not deny it, and he would not excuse it. When I was going on to discourse about other matters of fact, he confess'd very honestly, that he did now perceive, that they had no certain information of matters of fact at Oxford: whereby I perceiv'd, that it was no wonder that so many brave men were seduc'd to fight against the parliament.

Upon further discourse, he told me that he observ'd a great deal of piety in the commanders and soldiers of the parliament's army: I confess, saith he, *their discourse and behaviour doth speak them christians, but I can find little of God or godliness in our men; they will not seek God whilst they are in their bravery, nor trust him when they are in distress: I have much ado, saith he, to bring them upon their knees to call upon God, or to resign themselves up to God, when they go on upon any desperate service, or are cast into any perplexed condition.* I lik'd him well, when I heard him run on so fluently to this effect; and I clos'd with him, and desir'd him to tell me freely, whether in good earnest he thought the Parliament did intend any thing else, than the taking of the wicked from before the King, the establishing of the King's throne in justice, the setting up of Christ's ordinances in power, purity, liberty; and the settling of the known laws of the land, the privileges of the parliament, and liberties of the subjects, in quiet and peace.

‘ Sir,

‘ Sir, saith he, I must acknowledge that I do
 ‘ verily believe, that the intentions of the par-
 ‘ liament are better than the intentions of the
 ‘ court, or of that army which I have follow’d;
 ‘ but I conceive that the parliament takes a wrong
 ‘ course to prosecute and accomplish their good
 ‘ intentions; for war is not the way of Jesus
 ‘ Christ.’

Truly I was asham’d to dispute with him any longer, when he had given me so much advantage: For first, he clearly condemn’d himself for being confederate with them, whose intentions were destructive; because no man must promote an ill design by any means whatsoever, be they never so lawful. Secondly, He confess’d himself clean out of his way when he was in arms; for war, saith he, (and he learnt to say so of the *Anabaptists* and *Socinians*) *is not the way of Jesus Christ*: all that he could say for himself, was, That he had no command in the army; and yet their greatest officers told me, that in a true construction, there was no man else that had a command to any purpose, but *Mr. Chillingworth*. And, as touching their intentions, it is no hard matter to guess at the intentions of the *French* and *Spanish* faction at court; or the *Irish* intentions of the *papists*, *prelates*, *delinquents*, &c. that follow the *Queen’s* army. I am sure one of the Captains, that was taken prisoner at *Arundel*, had a *Spanish* head, a *French* nose, and an *Irish* heart; and there was a letter found in *Arundel* castle, which was directed to *Mr. Beakingham*, the Earl of *Arundel’s* receiver, which doth declare the good intentions of the *Queen’s* army: I took a copy of it, which I will here transcribe word for word.

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Good Mr. BECKINGHAM, I Doubt not but you are acquainted with the general and voluntary contribution of the whole Catholicks of this kingdom, both to declare the true affection of their hearts towards his Majesty in this, as in all other occasions; as also to exhibit such aid as their estates do afford, to assist his Majesty in this present business, which doth concern each one in particular.

The moneys which the Catholicks are to give, must be presented this term, and therefore I intreat you, that you will be pleas'd, that what your liberality will bestow in so good a cause, you will cause it to be deliver'd to me in London, and I shall give an account thereof to such as it doth concern, and you a sufficient discharge.

The subscription and name was torn away.

I need not make any observations upon this letter, it speaks for it self; and it speaks so bad English, and such perfect policy, that I believe the man that writ it was no Englishman born.

There was a commission found there likewise, (which doth declare their good intentions) directed to Sir Edward Ford, &c. to secure the persons of all men in *Suffex*, who had contributed to the parliament; and to seize their estates, and sell their goods to the utmost value, for the best advantage of his Majesty; and the commissioners were to give an account of their service to the Field-Marshal General, Baron of *Stratton*, commander in chief of all his Majesty's forces in *Surrey*, *Suffex*, *Kent*, &c. Now their intentions are as you see: and as touching the means us'd, Mr. *Chillingworth* himself would not say, that the Queen and her adherents, Prelates, Papists, Delinquents, Malignants of the *French* conspiracy, the *Spanish* faction, or the *Irish* rebellion, and their confederates, do take better courses, and use more lawful means to accomplish their intentions, and bring about their designs, than the parliament of *England*,

the kingdom of Scotland, and the protestants in Ireland: since then Mr. Chillingworth did (as all ingenious and active spirits do) detest neutrality, he might have seen (for he had light enough to see) the way of Jesus Christ.

I desir'd him to tell me, *Whether the highest court of justice in the kingdom may not compel delinquents, who are protected by force against law, to come in by force of arms, that they may be try'd according to law?*

First, he acknowledg'd, that the parliament is the highest court; and therefore, I conclude, not to be control'd by some few of the King's council, or by a pretended assembly, consisting of fugitives and delinquents. Secondly, saith he, I must deal plainly with you, tho the parliament hath voted some to be delinquents, and the Queen her self to be a traitor, yet I do not believe that their judgment is infallible. I was able to answer him out of his own book, that *the judgment of a court or person (especially where there is evidence of the fact) may be certain, tho that court or person be not infallible.* Secondly, tho the judgment of the highest court be not infallible, yet it is final; and therefore we cannot appeal from the judgment of the parliament, to any court but the court of heaven. True, saith Mr. Chillingworth, but this is it which sticks with me, that there is no fundamental constitution for the government of this kingdom by a standing parliament. To which I had many answers to return; first, there is a fundamental constitution for the government of this kingdom by the three estates; secondly, there is a law for the frequency of parliaments; and thirdly, the virtue and strength of every parliament, continues in the acts of every parliament, by which the kingdom is govern'd, even after the dissolution of that parliament; every parliament doth live in its unrepeal'd acts, and therefore lives even after its dissolution: and in that respect we have many parliaments yet standing;

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ing; *some old Elizabeth-parliaments do as yet live, breath, move, and operate with strength and vigour.* Fourthly, there is an act passed for the continuance of this parliament, by the unanimous consent of all three estates; *and the King's council could not find any other probable means under heaven for the disengaging of his Majesty, than the framing and passing that act of continuance.* Mr. Chillingworth (putting off his hat) cry'd, *I acknowledge that act with all reverence, and there is your strength.* He seemed pretty well satisfy'd with that answer: and as touching *the way of Jesus Christ*, I desir'd to know whether the saints were not to make war against the whore and the beast; whether it be not an act of charity, for protestants to lay down their lives for their brethren; whether it be not an act of faith, to wax valiant in fight, for the defence of that faith which was once deliver'd to the saints. I perceiv'd my gentleman somewhat puzzled, and I took my leave, that he might take his rest.

My heart was mov'd with compassion towards him, and I gave him many visits after this first visit; but I seldom found him in fit case to discourse, because his disease grew stronger and stronger, and he weaker and weaker. I desir'd to know his opinion concerning that *liturgy* which hath been formerly so much extoll'd, and even idoliz'd amongst the people; but all the answer I could get was to this purpose, that *there were some truths, which the ministers of the gospel are not bound upon pain of damnation to publish to the people:* and indeed he conceiv'd it very unfit to publish any thing concerning the common-prayer-book, or the book of ordination, &c. *for fear of scandal.* I was sorry to hear such an answer drop from a dying man, and I conceiv'd it could not but be much more scandalous, to seduce or hoodwink the people, than to instruct and edify them, in a point which did directly concern the publick worship of God in this land;

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When I found him pretty hearty one day, I desir'd him to tell me, *Whether he conceived that a man living and dying a Turk, Papist, or Socinian, could be saved?*

All the answer that I could gain from him was, *That he did not absolve them, and would not condemn them.* I was much displeas'd with the answer upon divers reasons: first, because the question was put home, of a man living and dying, so or so. Secondly, it was frivolous to talk of absolution; for it was out of question that he could not absolve them. Thirdly, it shew'd that he was too well persuaded of *Turcism* and *Socinianism*, which run exactly parallel in too many points. Fourthly, he seems to anathematize the *Socinians*, in the preface to the *author of charity maintained*, Sect. 28. when *Knot* had reckon'd up some *Socinian* tenets, *Mr. Chillingworth* answers, *Whosoever teaches or holds them, let him be anathema.* I have not *Knot's* book by me now, I mean his *Direction to N. N.* and *Mr. Chillingworth* was so wise, as not to reckon up the number of those impious doctrines, or name them in particular; because they were all father'd upon him, and he would not assist *Mr. Knot* so far in the spreading his own undeserv'd defamation, *ibid.* Sect. 28. I am afraid that *Knot* reckon'd up too many points of *Socinianism*, or did not form his interrogations aright; and then *Mr. Chillingworth* might safely anathematize, and yet be a *Socinian* in many points which were not reckon'd up, or not well express'd: And yet his anathema is warily pronounc'd; he doth not say, *Whosoever teaches or holds them or any of them, let him be anathema.* Moreover, if the *Socinians* be asked, whether Christ be God, they will say, Yes; but then they mean that he is the son of God, born after an extraordinary manner by the overshadowing of the holy ghost, *Luke* 1. 31, 32, 35. or that the word of God came to him, and therefore he is called

led God, because of his extraordinary commission from God, or the like, *Joh. 10. 35.* Now either Mr. *Chillingworth* was guilty of some such equivocation and sly evasion, or else he grew worse and worse, and would not anathematize a gross *Socinian*. And if in these latter days seducers grow worse and worse, I shall not wonder at it, *2 Tim. 3. 13.*

When Mr. *Chillingworth* saw himself intangled in disputes, he desir'd me that I would deal charitably with him, for, saith he, I was ever a charitable man. My answer was somewhat tart, and therefore the more charitable, considering his condition, and the counsel of the apostle, *Titus. 1. 13. Rebuke them sharply, or (as Beza hath it) precisely, that they may be found in the faith;* and I desire not to conceal my rartness, it was to this effect: Sir, it is confess'd that you have been very excessive in your charity; you have lavish'd out so much charity upon Turks, Socinians, Papists, that I am afraid you have very little to spare for a truly reform'd Protestant; sure I am, the zealous Protestants find very little charity at Oxford.

The last time I visited him was on the Lord's-day, for I thought it a sabbath-duty, and then he began to speak of some questions which I formerly propounded to him, whereof this was one; *whether tyranny was God's ordinance:* I presently took him off from that discourse, because I knew he had been laid up fast by that argument before; for it is impossible that any man should ever prove, that tyranny is not to be resisted upon this ground, because we must not resist God's ordinance; unless they could prove that which is *blasphemy to mention, viz. That tyranny is God's ordinance.* I desir'd him that he would now take off his thoughts from all matters of speculation, and fix upon some practical point which might make for his edification.

He thanked me (as I hope) very heartily, and told me, that in all points of religion he was settled,

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tled, and had fully express'd himself for the satisfaction of others in his book, which was approv'd and licens'd by very learned and judicious Divines. Upon further discourse, I began to tell him what meditation did most comfort me in times of extremity; and I added, that the meditation was very proper for a man in his condition, if he could lay hold upon the *covenant of grace*. I made choice of that scripture, 2 Sam. 23. the five first verses; and I began to open the fifth verse a little to him: I told him, that all our hopes of salvation are grounded upon the covenant of grace; for it is a sure covenant, an ordered covenant, nay, a covenant in all things ordered and sure; an everlasting covenant, a saving covenant: they were *David's* last words, *This is all my salvation*. And I press this point the rather, because he doth acknowledge in his book, that the doctrine about the covenant is a fundamental doctrine; and because his expressions are very imperfect and obscure in his subtle book, I was in good hope that he would have explain'd himself more fully and clearly in that fundamental point; but I could not obtain what I desir'd. Not long after, I told him, that I did use to pray for him in private, and ask'd him whether it was his desire that I should pray for him in publick: he answer'd, yes, with all his heart; and he said withal, that he hop'd he should fare the better for my prayers.

I observ'd that Mr. Chillingworth was much troubled with a fore throat, and oppress'd with tough phlegm, which would certainly choak him up, if there were not some sudden remedy. I sent therefore to a Surgeon, one of Mr. Chillingworth's belief, an able man that pleas'd him well, and gave him some ease. And the next day, being Monday, at our morning-exercise in the cathedral, I desir'd the soldiers and citizens, that they would in their prayers remember the distress'd estate of Mr. Chillingworth.

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lingworth, a sick prisoner in the city, a man very eminent for the strength of his parts, the excellency of his gifts, and the depth of his learning: I told them, that they were commanded to love their enemies, and therefore were bound to pray for them; especially when God moved the heart of an enemy to desire their prayers. We pray'd heartily that God would be pleas'd to bestow *saving graces* as well as *excellent gifts* upon him; that so all his gifts might be improv'd and sanctify'd. We desir'd that God would give him new light, and new eyes, that he might see, acknowledge, and recant his errors; that he might deny his carnal reason, and submit to faith; that God would bless all means which were us'd for his recovery, &c.

I believe none of his friends or my enemies can deny, that we made a respectful and christian mention of him in our prayers. The same day I rid to *Arundel*, to move the Doctor to come over again to visit *Mr. Chillingworth*; but the Doctor was sent for out of town (before I got thither) to visit *Sir William Springot*, and so I lost my journey, and the Doctor saw him no more. In my absence, a religious officer of *Chichester* garison follow'd my suit to *Mr. Chillingworth*, and intreated him to declare himself in point of religion; but *Mr. Chillingworth* appeal'd to his book again, and said he was settled, as you may see it more largely set down in *Mr. Edmonds's* testimony before. From my first visitation of *Mr. Chillingworth* to the last, I did not find him in a condition which might any way move me (had I been his deadly enemy) either to flatter or envy him, but rather to pity and pray for him, as you see I did. I dare appeal to his eminent and learned friends, whether there could be more *mercy* shewn to his body, or *charity* to his soul whilst he was alive: consider what it is worth to have a fortnight's space to repent in. O what would *Dives* have proffer'd for such a mercy?

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mercy ? if Mr. Chillingworth did not improve it, that was no fault of mine ; and shall not my charity to his soul and body whilst he was alive, acquit me from being uncharitable towards him after his death ? No reasonable man will deem me guilty of such an uncharitable madness, as to be angry with a carcass, or to go wrestle with a ghost ; for I consider that his ghost might cry, *in faciem sepeli*, bury me with my face downward, if you please ; for when the *Macedonians* (give me leave to change the story a little, and say, when the *Irish*) come, and they were then near us, they will turn all upside down : I am no *Sylla*, I did not give any command to scatter the reliques of *Marinus* ; tho I have not much wisdom, yet I have more charity than to deserve that lash of the orator, *He had been more wise, had he been less violent* : and yet I will confess that I am, and ought to be violent for *Christ* and *Heaven* ; and my passions are too often as hot as my zeal, but they may bear with small faults ; and in this business I have proceeded with deliberation and moderation : I consider that I am in the body, and my body may be deliver'd (I know not how soon) into the enemy's hand ; I do not expect (tho I might desire) that half that mercy which I shew'd to Mr. Chillingworth may be shewn to me ; *Defunctorum cineribus violentiam inferre sacrilega præsumpcio est*, is a rule, if I mistake not, in the civil law ; and I shall be able to justify my carriage in the business of his funeral, to the face of his greatest patrons, from all inhumanity or sacrilege :

Sacrilega bustis abstinuere manus.

Let us, if you please, take a view of all our proceedings, and of Mr. Chillingworth's opinions ; and then (I am afraid) some will say there was a little foolish pity shew'd on my part, and the uncharitableness will be found in them only, who censured me for want of charity.

First,

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First, there were all things which may any way appertain to the *civility* of a funeral, tho there was nothing which belongs to the *superstition* of a funeral: His body was decently laid in a convenient coffin, cover'd with a *mourning herse-cloth*, more seemly (as I conceive) than the usual covering, patch'd up out of the mouldy reliques of some *moth-eaten copes*. His friends were entertain'd (according to their own desire) with wine and cakes; tho that is, in my conceit, a *turning of the house of mourning into an house of banquetting*: All that offer'd themselves to carry his corps, out of pure devotion, because they were *men of his perswasion*, had every one of them (according to the custom of the country) a branch of rosemary, a mourning ribband, and a pair of gloves. But (as it doth become an impartial historian) I confess there were three several opinions concerning his burial.

The first opinion was negative and peremptory, That he ought not to be bury'd like a christian, 1. Who refus'd to make a full and free confession of christian religion: 2. Nay, if there had been nothing else against him but his taking up of arms against his country, that they conceiv'd a sufficient reason to deny the burial of his corps. I will not trouble you with many reasons; that one place of scripture was to them instead of many reasons, to prove that an heathen might be bury'd in all the outward pomp and glory that can be devis'd, rather than one who hath destroy'd his own land, and slain his own people, *Isai. 14. 18, 19, 20. All the Kings of the nations, even all of them lie in glory, every one in his own house; but thou art cast out of thy grave, like an abominable branch, and as the raiment of those that are slain, thrust thro with a sword; that go down to the stones of the pit, as a carcass trodden under feet: Thou shalt not be join'd with them in burial, because thou hast destroy'd thy land, and slain thy people, (mark that reason); the seed of evil-doers shall*

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never

never be renown'd. In the third place; some were bold to say that he was *felo-de-se*, guilty of his own death by his fool-hardiness. Finally, it was alledg'd that he was an heretick, no member of any of the reform'd churches, and therefore to be reckon'd as an excommunicated person: now you know what law it is, which denieth burial to hereticks and excommunicated persons, tho they be excommunicated for inconformity only, for not appearing, or not paying of 3 s. 4 d. or some such like cause; read *Pickering's case* in the high commission. The truth is, we look'd upon Mr. *Chillingworth* as a kind of non-conformist; nay, to speak strictly, a recusant rather than a non-conformist: for non-conformists refuse to subscribe to *canons* which *concern discipline*; but Mr. *Chillingworth* refus'd to subscribe some *articles of religion*, as he himself acknowledges, tho he thought charitably of them who did subscribe them: for, he saith, he doth not undertake the peculiar defence of the *church of England*, but the *common cause of protestants*; and yet he doth not hold the doctrine of all protestants true, because they hold contradictions; yet he conceiv'd them free from all error destructive of salvation. And tho he did make scruple of *subscribing the truth of one or two propositions*, yet he thought himself fit enough to maintain, that those who do subscribe them are in a *saveable condition*. [See the preface to *The author of charity maintained*, sect. 39.] You see Mr. *Chillingworth* did refuse to subscribe. What think ye, gentlemen, are not *Chichester-men* pretty good disputants? can you confute these reasons? if you can, do your best; if you cannot, I have no reason to prompt you: scratch your heads, beat your desks, bite your nails; and I will go sleep, and will not hear what they said of Mr. *Chillingworth's* argument on *Fielding's* case.

The second opinion was your opinion, and the opinion of such as you are, my good friends at

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Athens. The men of a cathedral spirit thought it fit that Mr. *Chillingworth*, being a member of a cathedral, should be bury'd in the cathedral; and being *cancellarius*, it was conceiv'd that he should be bury'd *intra cancellos*, and rot under the altar, near the pot of incense, that the constant perfume of the incense might excuse the thrift of his executrix: — *Ossa in odora dedit.* It was answer'd, that he was of or belonging to the cathedral at *Sarum*, and therefore they might carry him thither; but then his will could not be perform'd, because he desir'd to be bury'd at *Chichester*, in case he did end his days in that city. But some, more serious, conceiv'd that this desire of burying him *intra cancellos*, was but the issue of a superstitious conceit, that the chancel, or *sanctum sanctorum*, was more holy than other places; and the carcass of a priest as sacred as that holy ground. And it was their opinion, that a modest and well-grounded denial of this request, would be the most effectual confutation of that superstitious conceit. The ground of the denial was Mr. *Chillingworth's* fantasie, viz. That there are two ways to make men faithful, (and consequently to bring them to heaven) without either necessity of scripture or church; his words are these, 'And St. *Paul* tells us, that *gratia* might be known by his works, and that they had the law written in their hearts: *Either of these ways might make some faithful men, without either necessity of scripture or church.*' Cap. 2. sect. 124. p. 100. first edition. Now shew me any place of scripture, say they, to prove that such a man's corps should be bury'd in the church, who maintains that men may be sav'd without church or scripture. This passage is the more observable, because in some places of his book he would bear us in hand, that he doth not think that heathens shall be immediately sav'd without faith in Christ; see chap. 3. Sect. 13. p. 133. but you see he doth not

mince the matter in the place fore-cited ; for it is clear and evident that there is *nothing of the gospel written in the heart by nature, or in any of the works of God by the first creation.*

The third opinion (which prevail'd) was this, that it would be fittest to *permit the men of his own perswasion, out of mere humanity, to bury their dead out of our sight ; and to bury him in the cloysters, amongst the old shavelings, monks and priests, of whom he had so good an opinion all his life.*

The prelatical men do conceive, that there is a kind of holiness in a *cloyster* ; no excommunicated person must be bury'd there, unless there be an absolution sent, either before the death of the party, or to the dead corps, (which they must call their beloved brother) *because they themselves are as loathsom and rotten as the corps* : Nay, a papist must not be bury'd in the cloysters, without special dispensation from the bishop ; and you know *the prelates would dispense with papists alive or dead.* It is usual to bury men of good rank and quality in *collegiate cloysters* ; and sure I am, the cavaliers do not bury their dead so honourably ; *tho they esteem them the queen's martyrs, they throw them into ditches or rivers.*

Finally, Mr. Chillingworth's bones shall rest without any disturbance ; he shall not be us'd as *Wickliff* was by papists, or as *Bucer* was serv'd by the prelati- cal faction at *Cambridge*, who vouchsaf'd him an honourable burial in the days of *Edward the sixth, anno 1551.* because they knew it would be an acceptable service in the eyes of *St. Edward* ; as judicious *Hooker* styles him ; but in the days of queen *Mary* (the first of that name) the same men pluck'd him out of his grave again, after an inhuman and barbarous manner : but in queen *Elizabeth's* days the same men wheel'd about a third time, and made an honourable commemoration of him again, in panegyrical orations and flattering verses. Mr. Chillingworth was bury'd by day, and therefore we had

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had no torches or candles at his grave. *Tertullian* assures me, that the christians us'd no such custom, tho the heathens did, and the antichristians now do. *Non frangimus lucernis, lucem Dei.* I know no reason why candles were us'd by heathens at the funeral of the dead, but because they did burn the dead bodies.

— *Subiectam more parentum*
Aversa tenuere facem —

Observe that I say *at the funeral*, for I know full well that they had some anniversary commemorations, at which it was usual to bring candles, and burn them at sepulchres in honour of the dead. I remember a famous instance in *Suetonius*, in the life of *Augustus*, there is mention made of a great company who flock'd together at the tomb-stone of one *Masgabas*, who had been dead about a year; and they brought abundance of lights thither, as their custom was. But it is strongly objected, that my great and unanswerable fault was, that I did *in extremo actu deficere*, I refus'd to bury him my self, and left it to others: Sirs, I confess it, and shall deal freely and candidly in the business.

First, *Mr. Chillingworth* in his life-time, desir'd to have some part of the common-prayer-book read over his corps at the grave, in case it should please God to take him away into another world by that sickness. Now I could not yield to this request of his, for many reasons which I need not specify; yet I shall say enough to give satisfaction to reasonable and modest men. I conceive it absurd and sinful to use the same form of words at the burial of all manner of persons; namely, *to insinuate that they are all elected, that they do all rest in Christ, that we have sure and certain hope of their salvation, &c.* These and the like passages I durst not make use of on that occasion; and all this, and a great deal more, was desir'd by *Mr. Chillingworth*: blame me not, if I did

did choose rather to satisfy my own conscience than his desire. For what learned Dr. *Usher* saith of more ancient forms of praise and prayer, is true of these passages; *Which kind of intercessions, &c. prov'd an occasion of confirming men in divers errors, especially when they began once to be apply'd not only to the good, but to evil livers also; unto whom, by the first institution, they were never intended.* [Dr. *Usher's* answer to the Jesuit's challenge, p. 192. edit. Lond. 1625.]

Secondly, I do not know to what end and purpose we should pray over the dead, unless we conceive it fitting to pray for the dead. I do consider upon what slight occasions the people have heretofore run into intolerable errors; and there is a kind of natural superstition ingrafted in the minds of ingenuous men, in this great business: men are apt to slide out of their civility and blind devotion, into detestable superstition. They who began to complement with the dead at first, did little dream that their complements should be urg'd as arguments, to prove that we may make prayers to the dead: and yet, they who have search'd farthest into the original of that rotten superstition and gross idolatry, do as clearly demonstrate my observation to be solid and rational, as if it were a truth written with a sun-beam. Take Dr. *Field's* observation upon this argument; *Notwithstanding, saith he, it is most certain that many particular men extended the meaning of these prayers further, &c.—and so it is true (saith Dr. Field) that Calvin saith, That many of the fathers were led into error in this matter of prayer for the dead, &c.* [See his third book of the church, chap. 17.]

They conceiv'd that the saints continue their love to their brethren which they left behind them; that therefore they recommend to God those particular necessities of their brethren, which were made known to them here: nay, they did intreat saints, lying on their death-beds, not to forget their friends on earth, when they were translated to heaven.

ven. Add to this, their reckoning up the names of martyrs at the eucharist; the sacrifice of praise; the anniversary commemorations and panegyric orations, on the several days of their friends death, and I need say no more: read the same author, Dr. Field, in the same book, chap. 20. and you will be satisfy'd.

When I read of funerals in the old testament, celebrated in the presence of idolaters mingled with the faithful servants of God, is there any probability that there were any prayers made over the dead corps? would the idolaters have join'd with the faithful, in any spiritual exercise of religion presented to the true God? The heathens had strange conceits, that by prayers and sacrifices *Persephone* might be appeas'd, and so the deceas'd party fare much the better for the sacrifices, or the prayers, (shadow'd by the sacrifices) for with them the Devil was worshipp'd, and so (as they thought) appeas'd: read Dr. Reynolds in the first tome of his prelections on the Apocrypha, p. 1498. *Itaque Persephone & sacrificiis & precibus placabatur ab Ulysse, Odyss. 11. Apollonius apud Philostratum, lib. 4. cap. 5. Qui negat sibi opus fuisse, obtulit tamen preces & orationes; atque ita, aut sacrificiis, aut orationibus, quas sacrificia adumbrabant, placabatur Sathanas, colebatur & adorabatur.* Now if prayers were made over the dead by heathenish idolaters, and are still made by *Romish* idolaters, and the reform'd churches have no such custom, I humbly conceive, that I shall not be condemn'd by any sober christian, for not imitating heathens or papists.

Be pleas'd to observe the practise of reformed churches, and then you will not deem me singular in my opinion. There was a liturgy printed not long since, and presented to the parliament, (let it not be thought the worse because it came from Geneva, or because it is said to be approv'd by Mr. Calvin and the church of Scotland) and in that liturgy

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turgy you shall find, that there was no great store of service said or done at the interring of the dead corps. The corps is reverently brought to the grave, without any further ceremonies; which being bury'd, the minister, *if he be present and requir'd*, (observe those two limitations) goeth to the church, *if it be not far off*, (mark that likewise) and maketh some comfortable exhortation to the people, touching death and resurrection. You see that in their judgment the corps may be reverently interr'd without a minister; yet, if he be present, there are no prayers appointed to be said over the dead body; but the minister is to repair to the church, and preach to the congregation, as I did upon the advantage of the like occasion.

The practice of the church of *Scotland* is set forth by that reverend and learned commissioner of *Scotland*, Mr. *Rutherford*, professor of divinity at *St. Andrews*, cap. 20. art. 9. p. 319. in these words; *Interring and burial is not perform'd in the word of God with preaching, reading service over the dead, singing scriptures, (as papists) which tend to superstition, &c.* — The place of burial with us is not under the altar, or the place of assembling (the church) for the word or sacraments, as papists do; but in some publick place, either near the church, or some inclos'd field; because the *Jews* bury'd sometimes in a cave, *Gen. 25. 9.* sometimes in a valley, *Deut. 34. 6.* sometimes in a garden, *Joh. 19. 41.* I hope you will not say at *Oxford*, that there's no christian burial to be had in *Scotland*, because they do not inter the corps in the church, or read service over the dead.

But however, you'll say, it must be acknowledged, that singing of hymns, and *ευχαριστίας ὑμνὸς* were us'd of old amongst funeral offices.

To which I answer, that the learned Dr. *Usher* proves out of the author of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, that such a rite could not be observ'd in its

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pomp and glory, unless there had been some bishop present, at whose sacred hands the dead body might receive as it were a sacred coronation.

2. The singing of psalms, and these thanksgiving prayers, are *not signs of mourning, but rejoicing*; and how it would have been interpreted at Oxford you may judge, had we shewn the least sign of rejoicing at the fall of such a subtle enemy.

3. In those hymns and psalms they did express their confidence, that the deceas'd party was crown'd in glory; and of that I have said enough above, to shew that I had no such confidence.

But if any of Mr. Chillingworth's catholick friends at Oxford should speak out and tell me that there may (as *Augustin* saith) be *petitions and propitiations* made for men that are *not very bad, after their death*; I will ingenuously confess, that *Augustin's* judgment was very *unsettled in this point*, and divers of his expressions are *inexcusable*. But to answer them according to their folly, if they conceive that Mr. Chillingworth was a martyr for the catholick cause, they will likewise acknowledge (as *Augustin* in sundry places doth) that *to frame petitions for a martyr after his death, is an injury to the martyr, and to the cause for which he suffer'd*.

If any man do yet remain unsatisfy'd, let him consider, that had I conceiv'd it fitting to read some service over a dead corps, yet it could not be expected in reason and equity that I should perform this last office to the body of Mr. Chillingworth; for it is well known, that long before these unnatural and bloody wars, in the times of greatest compliance, I never gave Mr. Chillingworth the right hand of fellowship, but did freely and constantly protest against those damnable heresys, which he did cunningly sub-introduce and vent in this kingdom, not only whilst he was a profess'd papist, but since his pretended conversion, (give me leave to call it so) you will see there is good ground

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for that *diminishing* term, when you come to read the *catechism* anon. I am not *affram'd* to tell the whole *university*, the whole *kingdom*, that I never look'd upon Mr. Chillingworth as my brother in a religious respect, for we were not men of the same religion or communion; to speak plain, we were not members of the same church: for (as he saith truly in his subtil book) they who differ in fundamental points, are not members of the same church one with another, any more than protestants are members of the same church with papists. Chap. 3. sect. 9. p. 131.

Finally, it was favour enough to permit Mr. Chillingworth's disciples or followers, the men of his persuasion, to perform this last office to their friend and master. Now there was free liberty granted to all the malignants in the city to attend the herse, and inter his corps. Sure I am, that if Mr. Chillingworth had been as orthodox and zealous a preacher as John the baptist was, he might have had as honourable a burial as John the baptist had: for all the honour that John had, was to be bury'd by his own disciples, Matt. 14. 12. If the doctrine of this eminent scholar was heretical, and his disciples were malignants, I am not guilty of that difference. As devout Stephen was carry'd to his burial by devout men, so is it just and equal that malignants should carry malignants to their grave. By malignants I mean such kind of men who join with the enemy, or are willing, upon any occasion offer'd, to join with him, to promote the antichristian design now on foot; those, and only those, I call malignants. When the malignants brought his herse to the burial, I met them at the grave with Mr. Chillingworth's book in my hand; at the burial of which book, I conceiv'd it fit to make this little speech following.

which is common lib. of doidw
in this kind of son, roobpud gift in
om (give) his name his name and
brung boggi mott sed illi boy (of illi of boy) A

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A speech made at the funeral of Mr. Chillingworth's mortal book.

B Rethren, it was the earnest desire of that eminent scholar whose body lies here before you, that his corps might be interr'd according to the rites and customs approv'd in the English liturgy, and in most places of this kingdom heretofore receiv'd; but his second request (in case that were deny'd him) was, that he might be bury'd in this city, after such a manner as might be obtain'd, in these times of unhappy difference and bloody wars. His first request is deny'd for many reasons, of which you cannot be ignorant. It is too well known that he was once a profess'd papist, and a grand seducer; he perverted divers persons of considerable rank and quality; and I have good cause to believe that his return to England, commonly call'd his conversion, was but a false and pretended conversion: And for my own part, I am fully convinc'd that he did not live or die a genuine son of the church of England; I retain the usual phrase, that you may know what I mean; I mean, he was not of that faith or religion, which is establish'd by law in England. He hath left that phantasie which he call'd his religion, upon record in this subtle book: he was not asham'd to print and publish this destructive tenet, That there is no necessity of church or scripture, to make men faithful men, in the hundredth page of this unhappy book; and therefore I refuse to bury him my self: yet let his friends and followers, who have attended his herse to this Golgotha, know, that they are permitted, out of mere humanity, to bury their dead out of our sight. If they please to undertake the burial of his corps, I shall undertake to bury his errors, which are publish'd in this so much admir'd yet unworthy book: and happy would it be for this kingdom, if this book and all its fellows could be so bury'd, that they might never rise more, unless it were for a

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confutation; and happy would it have been for the author, if he had repented of those errors, that they might never rise for his condemnation; happy, thrice happy will he be, if his works do not follow him, if they do never rise with him nor against him.

Get thee gone then, thou cursed book, which
 ' hast seduc'd so many precious souls; get thee gone,
 ' thou corrupt rotten book, earth to earth, and
 ' dust to dust; get thee gone into the place of
 ' rottenness, that thou mayst rot with thy author,
 ' and see corruption.' So much for the burial of his errors.

Touching the burial of his corps, I need say no more than this; It will be most proper for the men of his persuasion to commit the body of their deceas'd friend, brother, master, to the dust; and it will be more proper for me to hearken to that counsel of my Saviour, Luke 9. 60. Let the dead bury their dead, but go thou and preach the kingdom of God.

And so I went from the grave to the pulpit, and preach'd on that text to the congregation.

Some conceive that I study'd on purpose, to pick out the most piercing text in the bible; a text which doth much reflect upon the party deceas'd: but these men err, not knowing the scriptures; for had I us'd that prayer at Mr. Chillingworth's grave (which was dictated by the Spirit upon the like occasion, the fall of a great enemy of Israel, Judg. 5. 31.) doubtless that prayer would have reflected more upon the party deceas'd, and all his surviving party; So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord, but let them that love thee be as the sun when he goes forth in his strength. They would have been more displeas'd, had I taken that text, which is apply'd to no less a man than the son of Josiah, by the prophet Jeremiah; They shall not lament for him, saying, ah my brother, or, ah sister; — ah Lord, or, ah his glory: he shall be bury'd with the burial of an

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ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem, Jer. 22. 18, 19. Doubtless that man deserves the burial of an ass, who believes his own reason more than the God of truth; he that dares not condemn, nay, admires those for rational men, who would reason Christ and the Holy Ghost out of their godhead, and even dispute them both out of the Trinity, doth certainly deserve the burial of an ass. Man is born like a wild ass's colt; as silly, wild, and coltish, as the colt of a wild ass; and if he prove an old colt, and perish by his coltish tricks, wonder not at the sharp censure of the Holy Ghost. You see then there are sharper texts, than this that I have pitch'd upon for the ground of my discourse.

Secondly, all that understand that text, Luke 9. 60. will acknowledge, that the text did reflect rather upon the living than the dead. But why then was he bury'd at all? I have told you already, his followers were permitted to bury him out of mere humanity. I pleaded for his burial from that great example recorded at length by the Holy Ghost, 2 Sam. 1. from the eleventh verse to the end of the chapter. Saul, you know, was forsaken of God long before his death; the spirit of the Lord, (the excellent gifts and common graces of the Spirit in particular) the spirit of government departed from him; moreover, he consulted a witch, and by her the Devil, at Endor; and an evil spirit from the Lord took possession of him: yet Saul was solemnly bury'd, bewail'd, nay extoll'd by David, for those things which were lovely in him, as you may read in the place forecited, ver. 17, 21, 24. And I dare boldly say, that I have been more sorrowful for Mr. Chillingworth, and merciful to him, than his friends at Oxford: his sickness and obstinacy cost me many a prayer and many a tear. I did heartily bewail the loss of such strong parts and eminent gifts; the loss of so much learning and diligence. Never did I observe

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observe more acuteness and eloquence so exactly temper'd in the same person : *Diabolus ab illo ornari cupiebat* ; for he had eloquence enough to set a fair varnish upon the foulest design. He was master of his learning ; he had all his arguments in *pro-cinctu*, and all his notions in *numerato*. *Howl ye fir-trees, for a cedar is fallen* ; lament ye *sophisters*, for the master of sentences (shall I say) or fallacies is vanished ; wring your hands and beat your breasts, ye *antichristian engineers*, for your arch-engineer is dead, and all his engines bury'd with him. Ye daughters of *Oxford*, weep over *Chillingworth*, for he had a considerable and hopeful project how to clothe you and himself in scarlet, and other delights. *I am distressed for thee, my brother Chillingworth*, (may his executrix say) *very pleasant hast thou been unto me ; thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of father, husband, brother. O how are the mighty fallen, and the weapons, nay, engines of war perished ! O tell it not in Gath, that he who raised a battery against the pope's chair, that he might place reason in the chair instead of antichrist, is dead and gone. : publish it not in the streets of Askalon, that he who did at once batter Rome, and undermine England, the reforming church of England, that he might prevent a reformation, is dead ; lest if you publish it, you puzzle all the conclave, and put them to consider, whether they should mourn or triumph.*

If any man enquire, whether he hath a tomb-stone, as well as an elegy, let him know, that we plunder'd an old friar of his tomb-stone, and there is room enough for an epitaph, if they please to send one from *Oxford* ; if not, give us leave to say, we have provided a sepulchre, and it is your fault if you do not provide a monument : for as *Laurentius Valla*, the master of elegancies, observes, a monument is nothing else but a speaking sepulchre : *Vix-que monumentum dixerim, nisi literæ aut alii tituli appareant,*

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pareant, quæ si desint, magis sepulchrum quam monumentum erit. Laur. Vall. elegant. lib. 4. cap. 75.

If there be any man yet unsatisfy'd, that this great philosopher, mathematician, orator, (and any thing but what he pretended to be, a divine) hath had no more honour at his death, than a plain tomb-stone, and such a song of lamentation as was taken up for *Saul*, let him read this following catechism; and if he be either papist or protestant, he will be satisfy'd, if he be true to his own principles.

A profane CATECHISM, collected out of Mr. *Chillingworth's* works.

QUEST. **H**OW shall I be able to prove to an atheist, that there is a God, and that the books of the old and new testament are the word of God?

Ans. When protestants affirm against papists, that scripture is a perfect rule of faith; their meaning is not, that by scripture all things absolutely may be prov'd, which are to be believ'd; for it can never be prov'd by scripture to a gain-sayer, that there is a God, or that the book called scripture is the word of God — for (as he saith a little before) nothing is proved true by being said or written in a book, but only by tradition, which is a thing credible of it self. Chap. 1. p. 55. sect. 8. the first edition approv'd at Oxford.

Doubtless, the atheists and papists will give him hearty thanks for this answer, which doth prefer tradition (which the atheist vilifys) before scripture, which the papists vilify: he hath pleas'd them both. The papists will be well pleas'd to see this doctrine licens'd by the protestants of the university of Oxford, that tradition is more credible than scripture; for tradition

is credible for it self; but the scripture, when it is to be prov'd a perfect rule to us, is credible only by tradition, in Mr. Chillingworth's conceit, p. 96. And where shall we meet with this universal tradition?

2. But I find another answer, p. 53. Tradition may be help'd out by natural reason. Controversies, wherein the scripture it self is the subject of the question, cannot be determin'd, saith Mr. Chillingworth, but by natural reason; the only principle, beside scripture, which is common to christians, cap. 2. sect. 3. And in his marginal observations on a passage of Mr. Hooker's, he lays down this as a rule; 'Natural reason then, built on principles common to all men, is the last resolution,' p. 65. Nay, reason is in some sort God's word; [see his answer to the preface, p. 21.] How then (will the atheist say) is reason credible for it self, since Mr. Chillingworth saith, that God's word is not credible for it self? surely these answers will never bring a man to divine faith; for to rely upon tradition, is but to rely upon human testimony; and such as the testimony is, such is the faith: if the testimony, which is the ground of faith, be human, then the faith cannot be divine. Again, natural reason is not infallible; nor is it able to judge of truths which are above reason: now it is clear, that supernatural truths are above natural reason. Finally, faith is not grounded upon reason, but upon authority.

He gives a third answer, chap. 1. p. 36. God hath confirm'd the doctrine of the scripture by miracles: but then he saith, we have nothing to assure us of the truth of those miracles, but tradition; and therefore we are not got one step nearer faith or heaven by that shift: and if he flie back to reason, then consider what he saith, p. 117. God hath nowhere commanded men to believe all that reason induceth them to believe.

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Quest. But if this great point must be try'd by reason, what reason can you produce, to prove the scripture to be the word of God?

Ans. There is as good reason for it, as there is to believe other stories or matters of tradition. He requires men to yield just such a kind or degree of assent to the gospel of Christ, as they yield to other stories or matters of tradition, chap. 1. p. 37. for God desires us only to believe the conclusion, as much as the premises deserve, *ibid.* sect. 8. p. 36. And the chronicle of England, join'd with the general tradition of our acquaintance, deserves as much credit, in Mr. Chillingworth's conceit, as the gospel of Christ; for his words are these, chap. 2. sect. 159. p. 116, 117. We have, I believe, as great reason to believe there was such a man as Henry the eighth, king of England, as that Jesus Christ suffer'd under Pontius Pilate. The Lord rebuke that spirit of error, which mov'd the great men of Oxford to license this blasphemy! What, have I no more reason to believe the three persons in the holy Trinity, speaking in their glorious gospel to my heart and conscience, than I have to believe Stow's chronicle, or the general tradition of my own acquaintance, or some such other fallible testimony?

Quest. But what if I cannot be assur'd that any part of the scripture is the word of God, may I be sav'd without believing this weighty point?

Ans. Yes, saith Mr. Chillingworth, chap. 2. sect. 159. If a man should believe christian religion wholly and intirely, and live according to it, such a man, tho he should not know, or not believe the scripture to be a rule of faith, no nor to be the word of God; my opinion is, he may be saved. Excellent divinity indeed! what, is not this a principle of christianity, That scripture is the word of God, and rule of faith? and if it be, how then is it possible for a man to believe the christian religion wholly and intirely, and yet not believe this principle?

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principle? Yes, I may believe the scripture, as I do *Augustin's* works, p. 114.

Quest. But if I am assur'd that some scripture is the word of God, how shall I know what books are canonical, and what not?

Ans. By universal tradition. I must receive those books for canonical, of whose authority there was never any doubt or question in the church, p. 148. I may then, it seems, doubt of the epistle of James, the second of Peter, the second and third epistles of John, the epistle to the Hebrews, the epistle of Jude, the book of the Revelation, the books of Job, Esther, Ecclesiastes, &c. He saith, he cannot in reason so undoubtedly believe those books to be canonical, which have been question'd, as those which never were question'd. At least I have no warrant to damn any man—that shall deny them now; having the example of saints in heaven, either to justify or excuse such—their denial, chap. 2. sect. 38. p. 67. Surely here is a pretty tempting excuse for, if not a justification of, those libertines who question these books, and may, upon Mr. Chillingworth's principles, question all the rest, if they acknowledge one of the Gospels, that contains as much as all the rest: Ergo, that is sufficient, p. 39, 101.

But if they believe no book to be canonical, and therefore will not assent to any book of scripture, they do not commit a sin of derogation from God's perfect and pure veracity; for he only gives God the lie, who denys some book or point which he himself knows or believes to be reveal'd by God, chap. 3. sect. 15, 16, 17. Now it is impossible that a man should know one thing to be true, and believe the contrary; or know it and not believe it, sect. 18. Whither these and the like principles (which frequently occur in his writings) tend, let the most sober and charitable men judge. The only fundamental error, in Mr. Chillingworth's judgment, is to deny something which the party himself knows or believes to be reveal'd.

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veal'd by God: and therefore, in his judgment; none but downright atheists err fundamentally, chap. 2. p. 135, 136. Atheism then, as the Jesuits and Arminians conceive, is the formality of an heretick, p. 100. for it is downright atheism for any man to deny that to be true, which he acknowledges to be spoken by the God of truth.

Quest. But if I do believe the scripture to be God's word, is it necessary to believe that controversies are to be decided by that word?

Ans. No, saith Mr. Chillingworth, this is no fundamental point; his words are full. I say, that this position (Scripture alone is the rule whereby they which believe it to be God's word, are to judge all controversies in faith) is no fundamental point, chap. 2. p. 115. His intent is by this assertion, to make good a dream of his, that some controversies in faith need not be judg'd or determin'd at all. Mr. Chillingworth pretends, that he holds the scripture to be a perfect rule of faith; and yet he saith, it is not necessary to judge all controversies (and those no small ones, because they are controversies) in faith by that perfect rule. It is a perfect rule, but we need not be ruled by it in all points of faith.

Quest. But is there then any other way to decide controversies, which hath any colour of probability from the scripture?

Ans. Yes: nine or ten several means of agreement offer'd themselves to Mr. Chillingworth upon the sudden, (and haply more might have been thought of if he had had time) and these that offer'd have as much probability from scripture, as that which papists obtrude upon us. And truly he was such a ready blasphemer, that he could vent extemporary blasphemies; yet such as the licentious men at Oxford approved, chap. 3. p. 130, 131.

First he saith, we could, if we would, try it by lots, whose doctrine is true, and whose is false; for which he cites Prov. 16. 33. It may be this so-

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phister did cast lots for his religion, and it was his hard lot to draw popery first, then arminianism, and then his doctrine run lower and lower, till it came almost to the very dregs of socinianism.

Secondly, we could refer it to the king, Prov. 16. 10. and 21. 1. Mr. Chillingworth might make merry with his own profane doctrine; but I admire that he should dare to sport himself with the majesty of scripture, and the majesty of the king: but truly I am afraid, that some are so indifferent in point of religion, that they are content not only to refer it to the king, but to the queen. It were proper for them to vent such doctrine, who have, as old tradition and proverb hath it, taken an oath to be of the king's religion.

Thirdly, to an assembly of christians, assembled in the name of Christ, Matt. 18. 20. Let them not then blame the parliament for consulting an assembly of learned and pious christians, and most of them ministers of the gospel, assembled in the name of Christ.

Fourthly, to any priest, Mal. 2. 7. This makes well of the queen's side.

Fifthly, to any preacher of the gospel, pastor, or doctor, Matt. 28. 20. Sure Mr. Chillingworth was more independent than they that are commonly so call'd.

Sixthly, to any bishop or prelate: (why not then to the bishop of Rome?) for it is written, Obey your prelates, Heb. 13. 17. Mr. Chillingworth, since his pretended conversion, was very apt to be seduc'd by the vulgar (or Rhemish) translation, or some version receiv'd at St. Omers: but this was a voluntary and devised means, as he saith in the same page.

Seventhly, to any particular church of christians, seeing it is a particular church; which is called the house of God, a pillar and ground of truth, 1 Tim. 3. 15. and seeing of any particular church it is written, he that beareth not the church, let him

him be unto thee an heathen, Matt. 18. Mr. Chillingworth is sometimes prelatiſcal, and ſometimes congregational.

Eighthly, we might refer it to any man that prays for God's ſpirit; for it is written, every one that asketh, receives, (this is one ſtep beyond the Browniſts) Matt. 7. 8. Jam. 1. 5.

Laſtly, we might refer it to the Jews, for without all doubt, of them it was written, my ſpirit that is in thee, &c. Iſai. 59. 21. And why not to the Socinians? they have natural reaſon; a very competent judge, in Mr. Chillingworth's conceit. What wonder is it, that ſo many blaſphemies and quibbles (for every quibble upon ſcripture is a blaſphemy) ſhould be licens'd by grave and learned profeſſors of divinity? What if papiſts take liberty to blaſpheme and put the ſcripture upon the rack, to force it to confeſs what makes for their turn; muſt proteſtants, or ſuch a one who undertakes the common cauſe of proteſtants, (tho he was no proteſtant) be permitted to blaſpheme by the liſenſe of an univerſity? Repent, dear docters, once more repent; and I will proceed.

Queſt. But how ſhall I know the true ſenſe of ſcripture, there being ſuch variety of conceits which paſs for interpretations?

Anſw. Here help me reaſon again, and implicit faith. For, the laſt reſolution of my faith, in his conceit, muſt be into reaſon, p. 65, 96. and ſtill he labours to prove that reaſon is judge; and he frequently jeers at Knot, for accounting it an abſurdity for every man and woman to rely upon their reaſon in the interpreting of ſcripture, p. 98. Reaſons drawn out of the circumſtances of the text cannot convince me, unleſs I judge of them by my reaſon; and for every man or woman to rely on that—in the interpreting of ſcripture, you ſay is an horrible abſurdity. And p. 99. Reaſon will ſhew this to be the meaning: yes, if we may uſe our reaſon, and rely upon it. Proteſtants uſe their reaſon, but Socinians rely

rely upon their reason. And he teaches implicit faith all along his book: protestants, saith he, do agree with an implicit faith, in that sense of the whole scripture which God intended, whatsoever it was, p. 129, 130. cap. 5. sect. 3. a ready way to tempt men to believe very little concerning the sense of scripture: for, men will be apt to say, that the sense of this and the other place of scripture is not plainly and fully reveal'd; and Mr. Chillingworth doth not require any thing to be believ'd with an explicit faith, which is not plainly and undoubtedly deliver'd in scripture. My reason (saith he) is convincing and demonstrative; because nothing is necessary to be believ'd, but what is plainly believ'd, p. 92. But nothing, in his judgment, is plainly reveal'd about any point which is call'd in question, if there be a seeming conflict of scripture with scripture, reason with reason, authority with authority; in such a case, he cannot well understand how it can be truly said, that God hath manifestly reveal'd the truth on either side, chap 3. sect. 9. p. 136, 137. Well, but admit that the appearances on my side are answerable, and grant that scripture, reason, authority, are all against me, because on the other side; yet consider the strange power of education, and prejudices instill'd by it, and what passions I am subject to; and then my error is unavoidable, and therefore excusable: for tho the truth is in it self reveal'd plainly enough, yet to such a one as I am, prepossess'd with contrary opinions, the truth in that point is not plainly reveal'd: read p. 137. Sure the corruption of our nature is as unavoidable as prejudices and passions; and therefore he must (according to his principles) conclude, that God who knows whereof we are made, will not enter into judgment with us for those things which (all things considered) were unavoidable: they are his own words, p. 137. Nay, besides education, prejudices, and passions, inadvertence may in the fourth place excuse us, if we disbelieve a plain

plain revelation. Finally, in the fifth place, multitude of business, distractions, hindrances, will excuse us, and hinder God from imputing our errors to us as sins. In his answer to the preface, p. 19. I am verily perswaded that God will not impute errors to them as sins, who use such a measure of industry in finding truth, as human prudence and ordinary discretion (their abilities and opportunities, their distractions and hindrances, and all other things consider'd) (he will be sure to give liberty enough) shall advise them unto in a matter of such consequence. But certainly human prudence and ordinary discretion will teach men to plead these excuses which he hath framed for them, when any point of faith shall be press'd upon them; they will say, our opportunities are few, our distractions and hindrances many, our education mean, our abilities weak, our prejudices strong, our passions violent, our inadvertence pardonable, and therefore we will content our selves with a modest humble implicit faith: we believe the whole scripture to be true in that sense which God intended, whatsoever it was; but we have not time to search, or ability to judge what it was: if we believe nothing explicitly, or to disbelieve a clear revelation, that revelation, tho clear in it self, is not clear to us; our error (the corruption of our nature, our prejudices, contrary opinions with which we are already prepossess'd, and all other things consider'd) is unavoidable, and therefore God will never impute it to us as a sin. 'Whither these principles tend, let the pretended parliament at Oxford judge.'

Quest. But are we not bound to hear what the church will say to us, for our direction in weighty points?

Ans. I must believe the church in every thing she proves, either by scripture, reason, or universal tradition; be it fundamental, or be it not

not fundamental, p. 149. These disjunctives seem to imply, that something fundamental may be prov'd by reason or universal tradition, which cannot be prov'd by scripture. The licensers may do well to declare what that fundamental point is, or how many there are, if there be more than one: I may go to heathens, I need not go to the church for any thing which reason teaches, the philosophers can sufficiently instruct me: and if what the church teaches be finally resolv'd into my own reason, as he affirms, p. 96. then I do not believe either God or the church, but my own reason. By you (saith Mr. Chillingworth to Knot) as well as by protestants, all is finally resolv'd into your own reason, sect. 115, cap. 2. Sure I am then, that such protestants and jesuits are in their high-way to pure socinianism; and therefore it is no marvel if some jesuits have been such anti-trinitarians, as Mr. Chillingworth pleads in his own defence. [Preface and answer to the directions to N. N. sect. 16, 17, 18, &c.] the church hath lost the interpretation of obscure places, p. 36, and plain places need no exposition at all.

Quest. But what if the church err?

Ans. Then a man may learn of that self-same church (which taught him) to confute the errors of that church: that is, I may learn to confute the erroneous conclusions of that church, by those very rules and principles which that church teaches, ch. 3, sect. 40, p. 150. First then, a private man is presum'd to have more logick than that teaching church. Secondly, the prelates (who call themselves the church) may give my brethren of the assembly leave to confute their erroneous conclusions, by some rules and principles which they themselves have deliver'd. Thirdly, a man may learn of the church how to teach the church. Principles which lead to these harsh truths, being licens'd at Oxford, are an argument to me, that they approv'd this book before they read it.

Quest.

Quest. But how shall we do then to find out the true church, and the true religion?

Answ. For commands to seek the church, I have not yet met with any; and I believe, (saith he to Knot) you (if you were to shew them) would be your self to seek, chap. 3. sect. 41. p. 150. And for religion, how little pains or care we are to take about it, hath been already shew'd.

Quest. But which must a man chuse first, his religion or his church?

Answ. Every man is to judge for himself with the judgment of discretion; (which he calls human prudence, and ordinary discretion, in the place of his answer to the preface fore-cited, p. 19.) and to chuse either his religion first, and then his church, as Mr. Chillingworth saith; or as Knot, his church first, and then his religion, p. 57. Every man then is judge: the scripture (for fashion's sake) he calls the rule, but he makes every man's natural reason the rule to judge whether such a text be the word of God, and then what is the sense of that text; and so all is still finally resolv'd into our own reason, into human prudence and ordinary discretion: for tradition is a principle, not in christianity, but in reason; nor proper to christians, but common to all men, p. 72. cap. 2. sect. 51. Come away then to the school of Socrates, for this is just, sit anima mea cum philosophis: read from the 90th to the 100th page. I will advise with God and that reason he hath given me, p. 158. he adored God and reason.

Quest. But is it not possible for men to become faithful, without either church or scripture?

Answ. Yes, by the works of God without us, and the law of God written in us by nature.

Either of these ways might make some faithful men, without either necessity of scripture or church, chap. 2. sect. 124. p. 100.

Quest. *What is faith?*

Answ. It is the assent of our understandings.

Quest. *Are not the essential doctrines of christianity to be embrac'd with our will?*

Answ. The assent of our understandings is requir'd to them, but no obedience from our wills, chap. 4. sect. 2. p. 193.

Quest. *What are these essential doctrines of christianity?*

Answ. I do not know.

Quest. *Do you not know what you are to believe? Or, cannot the church tell what these necessary truths, call'd the essential and fundamental parts of christianity, are?*

Answ. No, there's no such church that Mr. Chillingworth was ever acquainted with. We are not to learn of the church what is fundamental, chap. 3. sect. 39.

Quest. *What doth Mr. Chillingworth think fundamental?*

Answ. All points which are intrinsecal to the covenant between God and man, p. 193. chap. 4. sect. 3.

Quest. *What are these points?*

Answ. Repentance from dead works, and faith in Christ Jesus the Son of God, (*oh that he would have confess'd him to be God*) and Saviour of the world: this is all that is simply necessary, p. 159.

Quest. *What is it to believe in Christ?*

Answ. It is to expect remission of sins and salvation from him, upon the performance of the conditions he requires, p. 134. *Observe, more conditions beside faith requir'd to justification.* 2. No mention made of Christ's performance, but ours. 3. No mention of free grace. It runs like a covenant of works.

Quest. *What are these conditions?*

Answ.

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Answ. One is, that we believe what God hath revealed, when it is sufficiently declared to have been reveal'd by him. You have had the English of that already, read p. 134.

Quest. Is it simply necessary to salvation to believe in Christ?

Answ. It is simply necessary for them, to whom faith in Christ is sufficiently propounded, as necessary to salvation, p. 134.

He will wrangle with you, if you say, faith in Christ is sufficiently propounded to Jews, Turks, Heathens : for observe, that he presently adds in the self-same page, That may be sufficiently declar'd to one, (all things consider'd) which (all things consider'd) to another is not sufficiently declar'd; and consequently, that may be fundamental and necessary to one, which to another is not so. In his conceit then, it is not necessary for some mens salvation, that they should believe in Christ. And it hath been formerly observ'd, that some men (as he conceiv'd) might be made faithful men, without necessity of church or scripture. Finally, in the 133d page he saith expressly, that Cornelius was but a mere Gentile, one that believed not in Christ, and knew not but men might be worshipped; and yet we are assur'd, that his prayers and alms, even whilst he was in that estate, were accepted. Ergo, in his judgment, a mere heathen and an idolater may have access to God in prayer, and be accepted, without the mediation of our only mediator the Lord Jesus, God blessed for ever. But the truth is, Cornelius was a proselyte, instructed in the Jewish religion, who believed in the Messiah; and that faith was sufficient for his acceptance, before the gospel of Christ was preach'd unto him. The prayers and alms of idolatrous heathens (who know not but they may worship men) cannot be accepted without faith in Christ: nor do their prayers and alms please God so well, as that for them

or by them they should be promoted to a high degree of knowledge, the knowledge of Christ that so they may be saved by Christ: for what is this, but to deserve a Saviour, which is *meritum de congruo* at least? nay, let the licensers consider, whether to deserve Christ, be not more than to deserve heaven. Moreover, he is much mistaken, when he saith, that they who never heard of Christ, may so seek God as to please him; and that they shall be rewarded for their seeking him, with the knowledge of the gospel, or faith in Christ: for he who doth not seek God in and by Christ our only mediator, doth not come to God, but runs quite beside him: to such a carnal seeking, God never yet promis'd such a spiritual reward. Consider that of the apostle, Rom. 9. 30, 31, 32, 33. and the next chapter the second and third verses. That text, Heb. 11. 6. should be compar'd with, and expounded by Joh. 14. 6, and then it will be evident, that no man can seek so as to find him, or come to him after an acceptable manner, unless he seek God in, and come to him by Jesus Christ; who is the way, the truth and the life, the true way to eternal life. I hasten to the next question.

Quest. What other condition is there of the covenant besides believing?

Ans. Repentance of sin, and obedience to Christ; for God is a punisher of them that obstinately offend him: therefore repentance of sin is necessary, and Jesus Christ is the Son of God and Saviour of the world, by obedience to whom men must look to be saved, p. 101. Mark, he doth not say, by whose obedience men must be justify'd; and yet this is the fairest confession that I can meet with, I read often of our obedience to Christ, but I never read any thing yet in Mr. Chillingworth's book, of Christ's obedience imputed to us; now it is the imputation of Christ's obedience to us, and

and God's free pardon of our disobedience, which make the covenant appear to be a covenant of grace.

Quest. What is repentance ?

Answ. An universal sorrow for all those sins which we know we have committed, and which we fear we may have committed. [*Answer to the preface, p. 20.*] *If we have been betray'd into, or kept in error by any sin of our will, if that error be discover'd, there must be a particular and explicit repentance of that error ; if it be not discover'd, then a general and implicit repentance for all sins known and unknown, doth suffice, ibid. p. 21. Observe, that he saith nothing of the hatred of sin, or the forsaking of sin, in which the life and power of repentance doth consist. A man may live and die in his sins, and be sav'd by an universal sorrow. Men are damned, saith he, who die in wilful errors without repentance ; but what if they die in their errors with repentance ?* [*Answer to the preface, p. 20.*] *That is a contradiction, saith the Jesuit, and he saith true : but it appears by that speech, that Mr. Chillingworth conceived, that an universal sorrow for sin without any hatred of, or turning from sin, was saving repentance.*

Quest. What other condition is requir'd in the covenant between God and man in Christ ?

Answ. Sincere obedience. [*Answer to the preface, p. 18.*] *This indeed is the prime condition he means, when he saith, p. 134. That to believe in Christ, is to expect remission of sins from Christ, upon the conditions he requires. This is pure Socinianism, to believe that we shall be pardon'd upon our obedience ; or, as the Socinians express it, justify'd (according to the covenant) by our own obedience ; not as we say, by the obedience of Christ ; and freely pardon'd for the all-sufficient satisfaction of Christ, made in our stead, and put upon our account,*

account. Besides, if a man neglect never so many duties, live in never so many errors, and commit never so many gross sins, he conceives that an implicit faith and general repentance of all sins known and unknown, are sufficient antidotes, and his obedience shall pass for sincere obedience; as you may clearly see in those places which have been already alledg'd. If a man be not convinc'd that Christ is God, (by his principles) an implicit faith and general repentance will serve the turn; tho' that truth hath been sufficiently propounded to him, and it is merely his own fault that he is not convinc'd: for in his conceit, as long as this man remains (as he saith) unconvinc'd, (but as we say, obstinate) so long he doth not derogate any thing from God's veracity or truth. His words are these: But if the proposal be only so sufficient, not that the party (to whom it is made) is convinced, but only that he should, and, but for his own fault, would have been convinc'd of the divine verity of the doctrine proposed; the crime then is not so great, for the belief of God's veracity may well consist with such an error. Yet a fault I confess it is, and, without repentance, damnable; if, all circumstances consider'd, (that is, mens passions, hindrances, &c. consider'd as abovesaid) the proposal be sufficient, p. 18. of his answer to the preface. Now what he means by repentance hath been shewn, a general sorrow for all sins known and unknown; such a repentance as will consist with a man's obstinate denial of a truth; for he may die in this error with Mr. Chillingworth's repentance, and neither the error nor the obstinacy shall be imputed to him, because he is sorry for he knows not what; and remain'd unconvinc'd of his error, tho' it was merely his own fault that he was not convinc'd. This is a ready way to save Jews, Turks, Socinians, Papists, Infidels, and all; for he doth merely retain the names of

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of faith, repentance, sincere obedience, without the substance, life, and power of them. The faith he talks of, leaves the will at liberty: he starts at the apostle's phrase, the obedience of faith. You, saith he to Knot, say there is some merit in faith, we some obedience in it, which can hardly have place where there is no possibility of disobedience; as there is not, where the understanding doth all, and the will nothing, p. 329. Sure I am, the Devil hath such a faith, an assent without obedience: his faith is no faith, because grounded merely upon probabilities; he only saith, that the precepts of christianity are most likely to come from God, p. 36. chap. 1. but the Spirit of God, being implor'd by devout and humble prayer, and sincere obedience, may, and will by degrees, advance his servants to an higher certainty, p. 36, 37. But this certainty is a reward given to believers; so then men are believers before the Spirit gives them any certainty that the christian religion did proceed from the fountain of goodness. Now he who only believes the christian religion of all other religions to be most likely to be true, is not very likely to implore the Spirit very earnestly either by prayer or obedience; for who will obey the precepts of christianity, till he be assur'd that they and the promises are divine? But, saith Mr. Chillingworth, men may talk their pleasure of an absolute and most infallible certainty; but did they generally believe, that obedience to Christ were the only way (mark that, the only way) to present and eternal felicity, but as firmly and undoubtedly as that there is such a city as Constantinople, nay but as much as Caesar's commentaries, or the history of Sallust; I believe the lives of most men, both papists and protestants, would be better than they are, chap. 6. p. 327. Sure Christ's obedience for us is the way to happiness; therefore our obedience is not the only way. 2. It is certain that all true protestants do believe the gospel more firmly than

than (Caesar's commentaries or Sallust) profane histories. 3. Such a faith as this will not implore the Spirit by devout and humble prayer, or by sincere obedience. 4. I appeal to all indifferent men, what kind of obedience is like to spring from an implicit faith, in unsanctify'd reason; a faith that is a bare assent without obedience, the faith of devils, not the faith of christians. 5. The repentance of obstinate men, (I mean in sensu composito, as Mr. Chillingworth means) a general sorrow, which he calls repentance; (that is, humiliation without reformation) repentance of sins which I love and live in, and damnable errors which I die in, is not that repentance from dead works which Christ requires. Sure heresie, in the language of the apostle, is a work of the flesh, and therefore as dead a work as any other; we may then safely conclude, (that an implicit faith in unsanctify'd reason or fallible tradition, and a general sorrow for I know not what sins and errors (tho gross enough for to be known) such sins and errors as the party doth love, live and die in, and never so much as confess to be errors or sins, because he is so obstinate he will not be convinc'd of them) I say, safely conclude, that this faith and this sorrow are both unchristian, if not antichristian. He that hath an implicit faith in his own unsanctify'd reason, makes himself a pope. Sanctify'd reason sees but in part, and therefore unsanctify'd reason is spiritually blind, it cannot see any thing which is spiritually discern'd. Besides, I fear that he conceiv'd there was some merit of congruity in the lame obedience of this blind believer; because he saith, the sincere obedience of such a believer doth implore the Spirit. Now whether a man that relies upon his own reason and his own obedience, instead of relying upon God's authority and Christ's obedience, can be sav'd by the covenant of grace, let all true christians judge.

Quest. *What other condition is requir'd of us?*

Ans. A true, sincere, and cordial love of God. [*Answer to the preface, p. 20*]

Quest. *How may a man be rais'd to this love?*

Ans. By the consideration of God's most infinite goodness to us, and our own almost infinite wickedness against him. God's Spirit co-operating with us, may raise us to a true, sincere, and a cordial love of God. [*In the same page.*]

Quest. *Wherein doth this infinite goodness of God manifest it self?*

Ans. 1. In creating us of nothing. 2. In creating us after his own image. 3. In creating all things for our use and benefit. 4. In streaming down his favours on us every moment of our lives. 5. In designing us, if we serve him, to infinite and eternal happiness. 6. In redeeming us with the precious blood of his beloved Son. 7. By his patience towards us in expecting our conversion. 8. In wooing, alluring, leading, and by all means (which his wisdom can suggest unto him, and man's nature is capable of) drawing them to repentance and salvation.

I have pick'd out the marrow of his notions, the best divinity his words afford. But observe, 1. We are, saith he, designed to eternal happiness, if we serve God; which is perfect popery, shall I say, or Socinianism: here is a conditional decree, and the condition is works. 2. God expects our conversion; I thought he had effected our conversion: if God stay till we will turn of our selves, or co-operate with his Spirit in the first act of our conversion, we shall never be converted. Sure I am, this implicit faith grounded on unsanctify'd reason, and fallible tradition, will rather resist than co-operate with the Holy Spirit. The scripture tells us, that we do never love God in good earnest, till we do believe God's love to us: compare the 16th and 19th verses of 1 John 4. And
L *faith*

faith is not wrought in us by our co-operation with the Spirit, but by the almighty power of God, who quickens us whom he finds dead in trespasses and sins, unto a lively faith; as is evident in the two first chapters of the epistle to the Ephesians.

Quest. Is it possible for a man that lives and dies a papist to be saved?

Ans. Yes, very possible, in the judgment of Mr. Chillingworth. 1. Because the papists do not err in fundamentals, chap. 3. sect. 56. p. 164. For the only and main reason, saith he, why we believe you not to err in fundamentals, is your holding the doctrines of faith in Christ, and repentance. The worst sort of papists, who have means to find the truth, but will not use them, may be saved, if they die with a general repentance for all their sins known and unknown; because the truths which they hold of faith in Christ and repentance, are as it were an antidote against their errors, and their negligence in seeking the truth: Especially, seeing by confession of both sides we agree in much more than is simply and indispensably necessary to salvation, chap. 3. sect. 12. p. 133. And truly I do believe, if the worst of papists and the worst of protestants did agree in fewer things than they do, there would be more hope of the salvation of papists.

Quest. What is the best way to bring papists and protestants into one communion?

Ans. The framing and proposing of a liturgy which both sides hold lawful, p. 132. This was perchance the great stratagem aimed at in the framing of that liturgy which was sent into Scotland; and this is a point which deserves the consideration of the pretended parliament, or assembly at Oxford.

Quest. Is the Spirit absolutely promis'd to the succession of bishops?

Ans. No: for many of them have been notoriously and confessedly wicked men, men of the world:

whereas

whereas this Spirit is the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because he seeth him not, neither knows him, p. 146, 147. Whether this be not as true of some popish prelates in England as of the bishops of Rome, let the learned determine.

Quest. What if a church maintain an error contrary to God's revelation, known by that church to be a divine revelation?

Ans. The church that doth so is no longer a church, p. 137.

Quest. Doth not Mr. Chillingworth sometimes contradict himself, and call the Roman church the catholick church?

Ans. He seems to do so, p. 132. his words are these: 'We believe the catholick church cannot perish, yet that she may, and did err in points not fundamental; and that protestants were oblig'd to forsake these errors of her church, as they did, tho not the church for the errors, for that they did not, but continu'd still members of the church.' Observe, that the question is about forsaking the church of Rome, and he talks of the catholick church. 1. The catholick church did not err with the Roman: the Greek church did forsake the errors of the Roman. 2. Those protestants who did protest against the church of Rome, were a considerable part of the catholick church. 3. Those protestants did not continue members of the Roman church, but did renounce her communion, because of her errors. 4. His distinction which follows, between the catholick and Roman church, makes his former observations non-sense at least. 5. He saith, they separated from the Roman church, only in things which they conceived superstitious or impious—and, he saith, they were oblig'd to do this under pain of damnation. Not (saith he) as if it were damnable to hold an error not damnable, p. 132. Did those protestants rightly conceive the practices of Rome to

be superstitious and impious, or did they not? If they did conceive aright, then superstition and impiety are in Mr. Chillingworth's judgment not damnable: if they did conceive amiss, why doth Mr. Chillingworth justify our separation from the church of Rome? Sure Mr. Chillingworth was no fit man to maintain the common cause of protestants against papists.

Quest. May not a man be damned by maintaining errors which are not in themselves damnable?

Answ. Yes: because it is damnable outwardly to profess and maintain, and join with others in the practice of that which inwardly we do not hold: for this is (as he confesses) damnable dissimulation and hypocrisy, p. 132. Men may do well to take notice, that Mr. Chillingworth doth account something damnable; and I note this the rather at this time, because men are so apt to profess one thing in one place, and another thing in another, in these days of liberty; and to join with others in the practice of that which they inwardly dislike. Yet Mr. Chillingworth saith, that if in him alone there should have met a confluence of all the errors which all the protestants in the world have fell into out of human frailty, he would not be so much afraid of them all, as to ask pardon for them; because to ask pardon for them, were to imply, that God is angry for them. Answer to the preface, p. 19.

Quest. May a man constantly go to mass and be saved?

Answ. Yes, if he be devout at it (for that he means by a godly lay-man), if he be strongly persuaded that there is no impiety or superstition in the use of the Latin service. [Answer to the preface, p. 9. sect. 7.] It seems there is no fault in the mass, but that it is in Latin.

Quest. What profit might be gain'd by the mass-book if it were in English?

Answ.

Answ. Much devotion, instruction, edification, salvation, in the place fore-cited. Was not this a stout champion, chosen by Canterbury on purpose, not to confute, but harden papists, and seduce protestants?

Quest. What are the causes of error?

Answ. Negligence in seeking truth, unwillingness to find it, pride, obstinacy, a politick desire that that religion should be true which suits best with my ends, fear of mens ill opinion, or any other worldly fear or worldly hope; these seven betray men to, and keep men in damnable errors, p. 158. It is one of the most honest passages in his book. Brethren, let us beware of these motives.

Quest. What kind of man was Knot?

Answ. One that went about to delude his king and country with strange captions. Sure Mr. Chillingworth and he were both of a make; read p. 117.

Quest. How may a king usurp an absolute lordship and tyranny over any people?

Answ. He need not put himself to the trouble and difficulty of abrogating laws made to maintain common liberty; for he may frustrate their intent, and compass his own design as well, if he can get the power and authority to interpret them as he pleases, and to add to them what he pleases, and to have his interpretations and additions stand for laws; if he can rule his people by his laws, and his laws by his lawyers, p. 51. chap. 2. I think our judges follow'd his directions in the point of ship-money.

Quest. What weapons of warfare may be justly called carnal?

Answ. Massacres, treasons, persecutions; and, in a word, all means either violent or fraudulent, p. 52. God grant that the Irish forces which land daily, do not make us as well acquainted with this warfare in England, as they are in Ireland.

Quest.

Quest. *What obedience do we owe to the laws and judgments of courts?*

Answ. Only external obedience, not internal approbation, p. 97.

Quest. *If I disapprove the judgment of any court, am I bound to conceal my own judgment?*

Answ. No: I may lawfully profess my judgment, and represent my reasons to the king or commonwealth in parliament, as Sir Thomas Moore did, without committing any fault, p. 97. *Why then are men so much blam'd for professing their judgment against some things which seem to be establish'd by law, and representing their reasons to the parliament? And why did not Mr. Chillingworth yield external obedience to the commonwealth of England in this parliament? for who can deny that the commonwealth of England is assembled in this parliament?*

Quest. *May not a court which pretends not to be infallible, be certain enough that they judge aright?*

Answ. Yes. Our judges are not infallible in their judgments, yet are they certain enough that they judge aright, and that they proceed according to the evidence that is given, when they condemn a thief or a murderer to the gallows, p. 140.

Now reader, judge Mr. Chillingworth's works, my proceedings, and this treatise, according to the evidence given; and think an implicit faith in thine own reason, almost as bad as implicit faith in the church or pope of Rome.

I conclude all, as Dr. Fern concludes his last book; The God of power and wisdom cast out all counsels, and defeat all designs that are against the restoring of our peace, and the continuance of the true reformed religion. Amen.

Soli Deo Gloria.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

HAVING in the introduction declar'd, that the re-publishing this piece was not to reflect on *men* but on *things*; to make good this declaration, and prevent any thing I have said in the introduction from being mistaken, I have thought fit to add the following remarks.

The present *Anabaptists* are no more chargeable with persecution, who disown it in words and actions, for what was done at *Munster*, or by any particular persons of that denomination; nor the *Presbyterians*, for the proceedings of their ancestors; nor any other body of people, for the cruelties committed by any of their party, whilst they disclaim such cruelties, not only in words, but by their practice; than *christianity* ought to be reproach'd for the murders and blasphemies of the church of *Rome*: It is not the name, but principles and actions that fix the charge. And as to the *New-England Independents*, I must do them the justice to acquaint the world, that they disown the bloody zeal of their predecessors, not only in words, but facts; both the *Quakers* and *Anabaptists* having publick places of worship there without restraint*.

It is therefore persecution for conscience, and that alone, which I have struck at: And as I should be very unwilling to be misunderstood by

* *Neal's history of New-England*, p. 589.

any kind and good man, so I declare, as for such
as are for spreading their opinions by sword and
fire, I have the same opinion of them, as our
blessed Saviour had of the Jews, and for the same
reason; viz. That they are of their father the
Devil, who was a murderer from the beginning; and
that his works they do.

† John 8. 44.

E N D

E R R A T U M.

Page 4. line 27. for *murder* read *blood*.